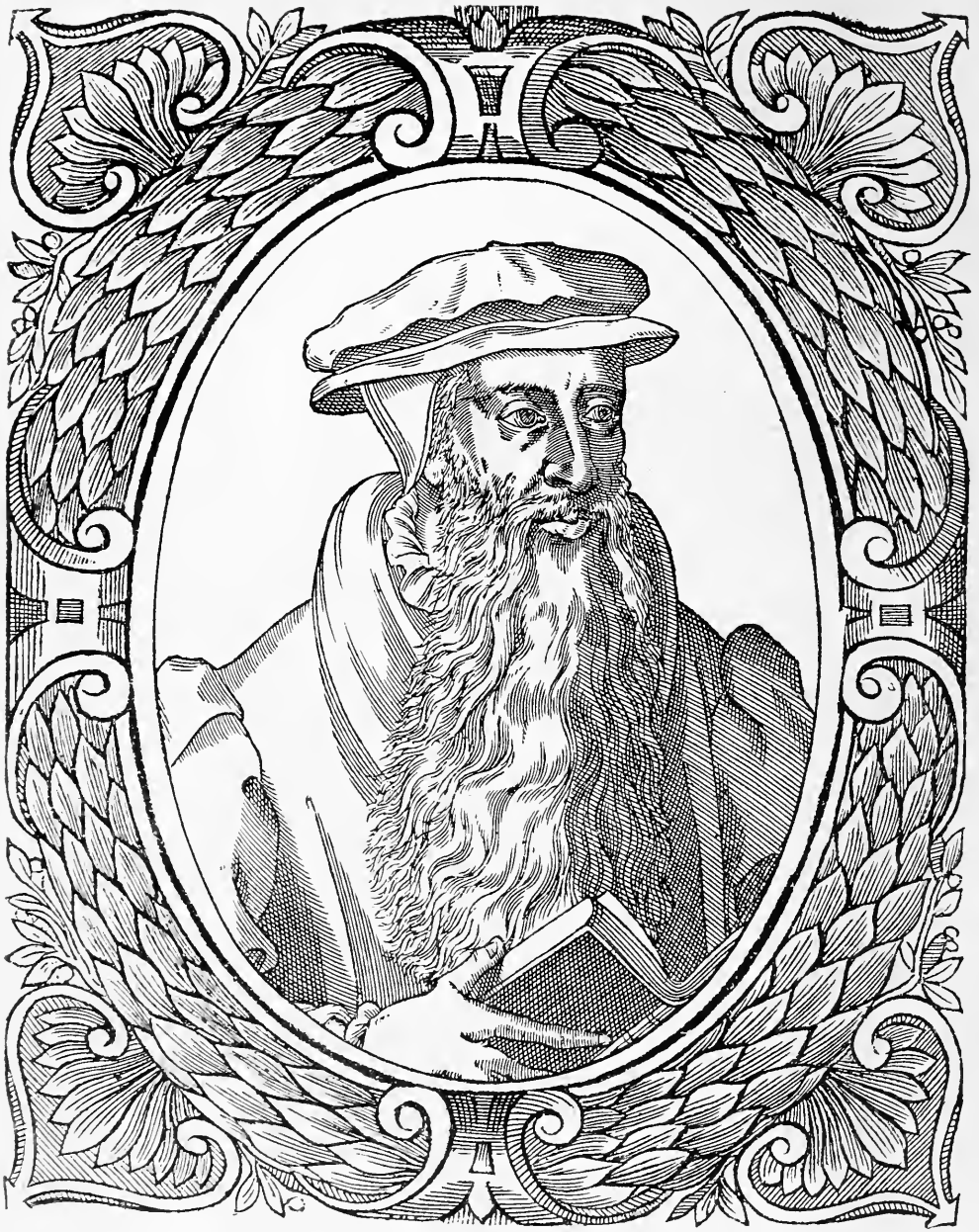


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Portrait of John Knox in Beza's Icones.

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JOHN KNOX

A BIOGRAPHY

BY

P. HUME BROWN

AUTHOR OF 'THE LIFE OF GEORGE BUCHANAN'

IN TWO VOLUMES

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TO

Professor Masson

HISTORIOGRAPHER-ROYAL FOR SCOTLAND,

THIS BOOK IS INSCRIBED

WITH DEEP RESPECT AND REGARD

BY HIS FORMER STUDENT,

THE AUTHOR



PREFACE

THE present work is meant as a companion to one which I published some years since on Knox's fellow-countryman and contemporary, George Buchanan. Each in his own way, these two Scotsmen were representative men of their century; and the history of their life and work belongs not merely to their own country but to the general development of Europe. An adequate account of Buchanan implied an attempt to sketch the transition from mediævalism to that phase of humanism of which he was at once so strenuous a champion and so distinguished an ornament. But if Buchanan represented so brilliantly the intellectual side of the great revolution of the sixteenth century, Knox is no less eminent as a type of the new theology and religion. In a degree that has not been fully apprehended, it will be seen that in England and on the Continent Knox exercised an influence on religious thought and feeling which fairly entitles him to be regarded as a figure of European importance. As Humanist and Reformer respectively, these two fellow-countrymen, children

of the same year, deserve to be placed side by side as the two greatest men whom Scotland put forward at the epoch when Reformation and Renaissance together were changing the destinies of Christendom.

But in addition to the general interest which attaches to them as typical figures of their age, they have the specific interest that belongs to men who have stamped their image on the mind of their countrymen in a degree and fashion that has made them emphatically a national possession and presiding spirits over the national destinies. Of Buchanan it can be said "that there are not, perhaps, above three or four names holding so proud a place in the homage of his countrymen."¹ In far greater degree than Buchanan, Knox has entered into the mind and heart of his countrymen, and evoked the passions and affinities that give its individuality to a people and determine its calling among the nations. It would, indeed, be difficult to name another historical personage who in such degree as Knox revealed a nation's genius to itself, and at once vitalised and dominated its collective thought and action.

To present Knox in this twofold aspect—at once as a great Scotsman, and a figure of European importance—is the object of the present biography.

¹ Hill Burton. In the seventeenth century Calderwood said of Buchanan: "No man did merit better of his nation for learning, nor thereby did bring it to more glory."

From recent publications on the Continent and from other sources we can now see that by his labours in France he influenced its religious development to an extent that gives him a distinct place in the history of that country. As a preacher in England, in Frankfort, and Geneva, it will further appear that more than any other single person he helped to give form and substance to the great religious movement that came to be known as Puritanism. To do full justice to Knox's work in Scotland, it was found necessary virtually to write the religious and political history of the whole period of his activity in that country. In view of the simple truth that beyond all his contemporaries he was the moving spirit of the revolution through which he lived, this minuteness of treatment can hardly be considered an undue extension of the scope of his biography. Moreover, from materials that have come to hand of late years, we are led to a conception of the Scottish Reformation, alike in its essential character and in the details of its development, which materially differs from the views presented even by such recent historians as Tytler and Hill Burton. To present a construction of the transformation of the national religion that seems more in accordance at once with the character of the leading actors and all the facts as they are now known to us, appeared to be of the very substance of a life of Knox.

In my quotations from Knox I have followed the

text of Laing, reproducing the original spelling in all its variations. It is necessary to emphasise this fact ; for, as will be seen, Knox's spelling curiously varied at different periods of his life, and was at all times sufficiently perverse and arbitrary. Even in this disguise, however, his language can present no difficulty to the modern reader. As a matter of fact, by his long residence in England and his subsequent intercourse with Englishmen on the Continent, his diction became so anglicised that it was made a special reproach to him by his countryman Ninian Winzet.

Among previous biographies of Knox, that of Dr. M'Crie stands apart as the work of one of whose services to Scottish literature and history those will speak most highly who are best entitled to pronounce an opinion. As the expression of a special view of Knox that biography, alike by its learning and ability, must remain one of the standard books in the language. After M'Crie, David Laing stands next for the sum of his labours expended on Knox. In his edition of Knox's writings in six volumes, he accomplished a work which in itself justified and, in large degree, made possible a new biography. Special mention should also be made of the work of Dr. Lorimer, who in his *Knox and the Church of England* made some interesting additions to our knowledge. In the *Dictionary of National Biography* Sheriff Mackay has related the facts of Knox's life with that genial breadth which distinguishes all his contributions to

Scottish history. The studies of Carlyle and Mr. Louis Stevenson are also noteworthy as recording the judgments of two Scotsmen of genius on their great fellow-countryman. Of other accounts of Knox it is perhaps unnecessary to speak, as none profess to be based on any special study of himself and his age.¹

In connection with my own researches regarding Knox, I have to thank the Rev. Dr. Mitchell of St. Andrews for his kind assistance in the course of my work; and I but add my testimony to that of many others when I say that his hearty co-operation was never wanting when it was needed. Of my particular obligations to him frequent instances will be found throughout these volumes. To Mr. T. G. Law, of the Signet Library, Edinburgh, I am also indebted for information on points regarding which he is a recognised authority. For the discovery of certain documents directly and indirectly relating to Knox, I have to thank Mr. G. F. Warner, Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum. To M. Aubert, of the Bibliothèque Publique, Geneva, and M. le Pasteur Eugène Choisy, it will be seen that I owe the discovery of a letter of special interest in connection with Knox; and this is but one instance among many of the kind interest they took in my researches in that town. Similarly, I am under a

¹ This applies to the work of Brandes, *John Knox der Reformator Schottlands* (Elberfeld, 1862).

deep obligation to M. Weiss, of the Protestant Library in the Rue des Saints-Pères, Paris, for the use of certain books on French Protestantism which I had been unable to find elsewhere. Throughout my whole work, I have finally to add, the various learning of my friend, Dr. David Patrick, has been of constant and invaluable service to me.

July 1895.

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¹ The original of this letter was in the possession of the Earl of Morton, but has been lost. It was reproduced in the *Morton Papers*, and also by Laing in his edition of Knox's Works, vol. vi. p. 574.



BOOK I

KNOX IN SCOTLAND

1505-1549



LIFE OF JOHN KNOX

CHAPTER I

BIRTH AND EARLY EDUCATION

1505-1522

OF the early years of John Knox, of the specific influences amid which he grew to boyhood and manhood, we know even less than in the case of his celebrated fellow-countryman and contemporary, George Buchanan. Of both, however, we know enough to conclude that the widely-different ideals they respectively came to follow must in some measure be explained by the widely-different circumstances amid which their youth and early manhood were fashioned. Between the age of fourteen and sixteen, as afterwards between the age of twenty and thirty, Buchanan studied at the University of Paris, and came under influences which could never have reached him had these years been spent under native teachers in any Scottish University. Knox, on the other hand, boy and youth, was exclusively the product of the schools of his native country. Not till past his fortieth year did he set foot out of Scotland, and by that period his mind was definitively made up on every fundamental question of life.

During the first quarter of the sixteenth century Scotland was by no means closed to continental influences; but her social and political condition left her open to one set of these influences only. It was the religious and moral, not the intellectual, revolution through which Europe was passing that in any degree touched the real life of Scotland. Luther and not Erasmus had from the first any real following in the country, and the drift of events gave Luther the advantage to the end. In the case of Knox it is to be remembered that he never, like Calvin and Beza, had the opportunity of rejecting the gospel of humanism. Beza and Calvin had the choice offered them of humanism or a renewed religion, and both (though, in the case of Beza, after some hesitation) deliberately chose the latter. As has been said, we have but vague information regarding the specific influences amid which Knox grew to manhood. Nevertheless, from what we know of the general condition of Scotland in the beginning of the sixteenth century, of the prevailing modes of thought, of the discipline deemed most satisfactory for the most promising of her youth, we may form a sufficiently clear notion of the various forces that went to mould him.

John Knox was born in 1505,¹—in the same year, therefore, as George Buchanan. His father's name was William;² and this, with one other fact presently to be mentioned, sums up all we know of him. The most distinguished family bearing the name of Knox was that of Ranfurly in Renfrewshire, and certain of

¹ Spottiswoode, *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, ii. 184 (Spottiswoode Society).

² We know this from the Register Book of the burgesses of Geneva under date 24th June 1558.

his biographers have claimed for John Knox a lineal connection with that family.¹ For such a claim no evidence has been produced that deserves serious consideration. The sole authoritative statement we possess regarding his family is contained in a single sentence from Knox's own hand in his *History of the Reformation in Scotland*. In 1562 the Earl of Bothwell, having quarrelled with the Earl of Arran, desired an interview with Knox to place before him the grounds of feud, and to request his offices as mediator. The interview took place in Knox's own study in his house in Edinburgh, and he represents himself as thus addressing the Earl: "My Lord, wold to God that in me war counsall or judgement that mycht conforte and releave you. For albeit that to this hour it hath nott chaused me to speik with your Lordship face to face,² yit have I borne a good mynd to your house; and have bene sorry at my heart of the trubles that I have heard you to be involved in. For, my Lord, my grandfather, goodsher,³ and father have served your Lordshipis predecessoris, and some of thame have died under thair standartis;⁴ and this is a part of the obligation of our Scotishe kyndnes;⁵ but this is not the cheaf." And he concludes: "And as for me, yf ye will continue in godlynes, your Lordship shall

¹ The genealogical tree of the Knoxes is, as far as John Knox is concerned, without authority. This tree will be found in Charles Rogers's *Genealogical Memoirs of John Knox* (1879).

² While still a child, Bothwell was sent for his education to his grand-uncle, Patrick Hepburn, Bishop of Moray, at Spynie Castle near Elgin.—Schiern, *Life of James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell*, p. 5. This would account for Knox's not meeting with Bothwell in his native district.

³ Maternal grandfather.—Cf. *Works*, vi. 688.

⁴ Probably at Flodden and Sauchieburn, at both of which battles members of the Hepburn family were present.

⁵ In the phraseology of the period this implies feudal relationship.

command me als boldlie as any that serves your Lordship.”¹

The lands owned by the Bothwell family in the neighbourhood of Haddington lay partly within the parish of Morham.² On these lands, therefore, the Knoxes must have been tenants for at least three generations. It has been noted both in the case of Buchanan and Knox how each showed his Scottish birth and breeding in his emphatic recognition of feudal ties and associations. No two men of their generation broke more completely with the traditions of their fathers than Knox and Buchanan, yet each to the heart of him was a Scot to the close of his troubled life. Buchanan, in spite of his alien upbringing and half a lifetime's sojourn abroad, never forgot that he was a Lennox-man, and, therefore, the hereditary foe of the Hamiltons. It is not only in the above passage that Knox betrays his “Scotische kyndnes” for his feudal head. The house of Bothwell was all-powerful in Haddington and its neighbourhood,³ and their influence in favour of the new religion would greatly have strengthened the hands of the Reformers. From the first, however, they did their best to thwart the new movement.⁴ It was Earl Patrick, the father of the notorious James, who was the means of placing George Wishart in the hands of Cardinal Beaton, and thus giving him to death. In Knox's eyes this act was one of the most heinous in the history of the

¹ *Works*, ii. 323.

² “Letters of Assedation to Agnes, Countess of Bothwell.”—*Ban. Misc.* iii. 273 *et seq.* The divorced wife of Earl Patrick, father of James, was known as “the Lady of Morham.”—*Schiern*, p. 4.

³ See below, p. 15.

⁴ James, Earl of Bothwell, was nominally a Protestant; but the party of Knox never recognised him as an ally.

Church, yet all that he permits himself to say of Bothwell is this sentence, probably the most lenient towards an enemy in his whole story of the Reformation: "But as gold and wemen have corrupted all worldlye and fleschlye men from the begynning, so did thei him."¹ Again, at a critical juncture in the affairs of the Protestants, James, Earl of Bothwell, intercepted a much-needed sum of money sent by the English Government for the support of their armed bands. The act excited the greatest indignation in the camp of the Reformers; but, though none must have felt its desptefulness more than Knox, it is with comparatively mild censure that he relates the incident in his History.² In the period succeeding the death of Rizzio, also, it seems probable that Knox owed something to Bothwell for his immunity from the interference of Mary. Speaking of that period, he says that "the Earl Bothwell had now, of all men, greatest access and familiarity with the Queen, so that nothing of great importance was done without him; for he shewed favour to such as liked him, and amongst others, to the lairds of Ormeston, Hawton, and Calder,³ who was so reconciled unto him, that by his favour they were relieved of great trouble."⁴ In this tenderness for the family of Bothwell, and his manifest affection for his native district, we discover the only strains of feeling in Knox that remind us of his family ties and early associations.

Of Knox's mother all that we can be said to know is that she was called Sinclair, and that at certain critical periods of his life her son assumed her

¹ *Works*, i. 143.

² *Ibid.* pp. 454-457.

³ These were all friends of Knox and his party.

⁴ *Works*, ii. 527.

name.¹ There is some reason, indeed, for supposing that she was a sister or, at least, a near relation of one Marion Sinclair, wife of George Ker of Samuelston, whose daughter and apparent heir, Nicola Ker, was second wife of Alexander, Lord Hume, Lord Chancellor of Scotland. At least, the name of William Sinclair of Northrigg, in the parish of Morham, appears as that of a witness to a contract, dated 29th October 1497, in favour of Nicola Ker and Alexander, Lord Hume; and it is possible that this William Sinclair may have been father or brother to Knox's mother.² The only other circumstance, however, that supports this conclusion is that from 1540 to 1543 Knox acted as tutor in the family of James Ker of Samuelston. When it is added that Knox had an elder brother, William, whose name occurs four times in the six volumes that make up Knox's writings,³ we have stated all that is definitely known regarding the family connections of one whose name is writ larger in the history of his country than that of any other of her sons. Could Knox have made any boast on the score of long descent, we may be certain that somewhere or other he would have asserted the claim—at least, according to the universal impression of the national character at Knox's time, he would have been no Scotsman had he ignored it. It was, in truth, the general impression of Knox's contemporaries that he owed nothing to the advantages of birth and fortune. We find this dis-

¹ In a Knox MS., which Laing entitles M, there is the following addition attached to a letter written by Knox in 1557, and signed Johne Sinclair: "This was his mother's surname whilk he wrait in tyme of trubill" (*Works*, iv. 245). This was a common practice among the French Protestants. Calvin made use of various pseudonyms.

² *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, iii. 64-68.

³ This brother was a merchant in Preston, East Lothian.

tinctly stated by a friend and by a foe, both of whom were Knox's contemporaries and fellow-countrymen. According to Archibald Hamilton, a Catholic priest and a bitter railer at the Reformers, Knox was *obscuris natus parentibus*;¹ and the Rev. John Davidson, minister of Prestonpans, and a personal friend of Knox, says with more precision:—

First he [Knox] descendit bot of lineage small,
As commounly God usis for to call
The sempil sort his summoundis til expres.²

With almost as much truth as Luther, therefore, Knox could have said of himself: "I am a peasant's son; my grandfather, all my ancestors were true peasants." In the case of Knox, indeed, as in the case of Carlyle, who suggests him at so many points, we feel ourselves in contact with a nature that in its essential homeliness implies an original upbringing amid the simplest elements of life.

A difficulty exists even as to the precise spot where Knox was born. As all the places that present a claim, however, lie within an area of some three or four miles, the question is one of purely local interest. The difficulty has arisen from a certain vagueness in the statements of the earliest authorities for the facts of Knox's life. The most precise of these statements is his own affirmation regarding his relation to the Bothwell family. As has been said, the lands possessed by that family in the neighbourhood of Haddington lay partly in the parish of Morham; and in this parish it seems

¹ *De Confusione Calvinianae Sectae apud Scotos Dialogus* (Paris, 1577), p. 64.

² "Ane Breif Commendatioun of Uprichtnes." This poem will be found in M'Crie, who printed it as a supplement.—*Life of Knox* (edit. 1855).

probable that Knox was born. In a charter, dated 1598, in the possession of the Earl of Wemyss, it is stated that Williame Knox in Morhame and Elizabeth Shortes, his wife, were infest in subjects in Nungate of Haddington. We know nothing of the precise relationship of this William Knox to the Reformer, but this statement, taken with the fact that the Knoxes were the tenants of the Bothwell family, must be allowed to point to a connection with Morham. In support of this conclusion it is also noteworthy that the churchyard of Morham was the burying-place of the Knoxes.¹ Other statements that have come down to us regarding Knox's birthplace are perfectly consistent with this conclusion. In the Genevan registers Knox entered his name as "Jehan filz de Guillaume Cnox natif de Hedington en Escosse." By "Hedington" we may understand the constabulary as well as the town of that name,² and in that case it would still be true that Knox was born in Morham, which was in the constabulary of Haddington. Knox may also be considered as indirectly responsible for Beza's description of him as "Johannes Cnoxus Scotus Giffordiensis"³ and "Jean Cnox de Gifford en Escosse." In this description also there is nothing that conflicts with the supposition that Morham was Knox's birthplace,⁴ since at that period the district extending for several miles south of Haddington, and including the parish of

¹ Nine tombstones in memory of the Knoxes have been uncovered in Morham churchyard—the oldest dated 1660. This fact undoubtedly suggests a hereditary connection of the family with the parish of Morham.

² East Lothian did not become a shire till after the Restoration.—Chalmers, *Caledonia*, ii. 411.

³ Beza, *Icones*.

⁴ John Major was born at Gleghornie, a hamlet in Haddingtonshire; but he speaks of himself indifferently as *Glegornensis* and *Haddingtonanus*. Gleghornie was about seven miles from Haddington.

Morham, was known under the name of Gifford.¹ The conjecture that carries most probability, therefore, is that the village or parish of Morham has the best claim to be considered the birthplace of the most famous of all Scotsmen.²

The native district of Knox bore no correspondence to the essential melancholy and austere enthusiasm of his character. Centuries before Knox's day East Lothian was a green spot amid the general barrenness and desolation of the country. The English in their frequent invasions found its plain superior to their own country in the fertility of its soil and the general comfort of its inhabitants. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the orchards of Haddington and its neighbour-

¹ The village of Giffordgate was a part of the estate and territory of Gifford.—*Proc. of Soc. of Antiq. of Scotland*, iv. 53.

² Other two places have been suggested—the village of Gifford, some three miles from Haddington, and Giffordgate, a suburb of that town.

As regards Gifford, the village does not seem to have existed in the sixteenth century. It appears neither in the map of Scotland given in Mercator's Atlas (Dusseldorf, 1595), nor in that of Timothy Pont. Monipennie in his *Abridgement of the Scots Chronicles* (Edinburgh, 1662), gives a minute list of the various villages in East Lothian, but Gifford is not among them (pp. 220, 221).

It is an objection to Giffordgate that it did not belong to the Hepburns, the feudal superiors of Knox's family. As the immediate suburb of Haddington, it is hardly likely that Knox, had he been born there, would have spoken of himself otherwise than as of Haddington. Moreover, *Giffordensis* is hardly an equivalent for *Giffordgate*, though it would exactly express the fact that Knox was born in the district of Gifford. In that case Knox would only follow the example of Major in speaking of himself indifferently as of "Gifford" or of "Haddington." In Giffordgate there is a ruin known as *Knox's Walls*, to which tradition points as the tenement where Knox was born, and it now bears a placard to that effect, written by Carlyle. When tradition seems to contradict stronger evidence, however, it cannot count for much. See in connection with the point:—M'Crie, pp. 303, 304, with editorial note, p. 467 (edit. 1855); Richardson, *Proc. of Soc. of Antiq. of Scotland*, iii. Part I.; Rev. Samuel Kerr, *Where John Knox was Born* (Edinburgh, 1860); Laing, *Works of Knox*, vi. pp. xvi. *et seq.*; Loudon, *The History of Morham* (Haddington, 1889); Hay Fleming, *The Original Secession Magazine* (May 1889).

hood were known beyond the limits of Scotland; in 1298 an English army found subsistence in the peas and beans they picked up in the fields; and it is related that in 1336, on the occasion of a feud respecting the abduction of an heiress, a hundred ploughs were left unemployed. At a date subsequent to Knox's boyhood a French visitor in Scotland describes Haddington as "situated in a fruitful and pleasant country, and in a position to effect great damage . . . as being at the heart of the country."¹ In considering the early influences amid which Knox grew up, it is this central position of his native district on which we have to insist. The highroad from England to the capital of Scotland lay through the plains of Lothian, as its inhabitants had often known to their cost. Twice before Knox's day the town of Haddington had been made a smoking ruin by the armies of England; and at a later date,² but still in Knox's time, it was beset by the French in one of the most memorable sieges in Scottish history. As a rhymmer of the seventeenth century expressed it, though with perhaps a little exaggeration—

Next unto Berwick Haddingtoun faced all
The greatest dangers, and was Scotland's wall.³

We may believe that in whatever part of the Lowlands of Scotland Knox might have been born and reared, he must have taken the side he did in the great religious struggle that cleft the country in twain. But in Haddington he was in the full

¹ Jean de Beaugué, *Histoire de la Guerre d'Écosse pendant les Campagnes 1548-49* (Mait. Club), p. 23.

² Haddington was at the time in the hands of the English.

³ Quoted in Skene, *Memorialls for the Government of the Royall Burghs of Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1685), p. 273.

current of the national life, and, as it happened, his presence there at a critical moment involved him in the movement of reform, and gave a direction to his life which determined his whole subsequent career.

In view of the life-work of Knox, it is specially noteworthy that in few districts of Scotland was the old church in more prosperous condition than in the town of Haddington and its adjacent district. The orders of the Dominicans and the Franciscans alike were endowed in full proportion to the wealth of the country of the Lothians. In the town itself were two monasteries, one abbey, three churches, and three chapels.¹ Certain of these edifices, moreover, were of such extent and magnificence as forcibly to remind us that the religious zeal of Scotland was not new-born at the Reformation. One of the churches especially was of such rare beauty that it was known as the "Lamp of Lothian."² John Major celebrates its magnificence in his usual quaint bluntness of manner; but, when he has also to record its burning by the English under Edward III., he adds a characteristic comment that has a distinct bearing on Knox's own subsequent attitude to the overgrown wealth of the ancient Church. "Now I for my part," he says, "do not think it well that the Minorites should possess churches of this sumptuous magnificence; and it may be that for their sins, and the sins of the town itself, God willed that all should be given to the

¹ Miller, *The Lamp of Lothian; or the History of Haddington* (Haddington, 1844), pp. 373 *et seq.*

² It is a disputed point whether the present parish church of Haddington is the "Lamp of Lothian"; or whether the church of the Franciscans, to which the name was applied, was an entirely different edifice, of which nothing now remains.

flames.”¹ Major lived into the beginnings of the new religious order, but he remained to the last a faithful member of the Church of Rome. It is curious, therefore, to note that no minister of the reformed religion spoke more freely than Major of the misdirection of the wealth of the country in the endless erection of all manner of ecclesiastical edifices. It was in presence of these great religious establishments that Knox lived till middle age—probably himself in intimate connection with one or other of them. How he came to regard such establishments he let the world know with an emphasis peculiar to himself; and we may conclude that when the conviction came to him that the ancient Church was not what he had believed it to be, the daily sight of this expression of its inner life must have had its own influence in creating the desire for simpler forms and less mundane glories.

It was doubtless in some measure due to the powerful interests of the old clergy in Haddington that it was behind many other towns of Scotland in accepting the Protestant teaching. In 1546 the town had an early opportunity of deciding between the old and the new doctrines, when George Wishart preached in its parish church. Knox was present at the preaching, and has left us an account of the occasion which helps us to realise the world in which he moved till past his fortieth year. “In the hynder end,” he says, “of those dayis that ar called the Holy dayis of Yule, past he [Wishart], by consent of the gentilmen, to Haddingtoun, whare it was supposed the greatast confluence of people should be be reassoun of the toune

¹ *Hist. of Greater Britain* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), p. 297. On the other hand, Major complains of the poor endowments of the Universities as contrasted with the rich prebends of the Church.—*Ibid.* p. 28.

and of the countrey adjacent. The first day befor nune the auditouris was reassonable, and yitt nothing in comparisone of that which used to be in that kyrk. Butt the after nune, and the nixt day following befor nune, the auditure was so sclender, that many wondered. The cause was judged to have bein, that the Erle of Bothwell, who in these boundis used to have great credite and obedience, by procurement of the Cardinall [Beaton], had gevin inhibitioun, aswell unto the toune, as unto the countrey, that thei should nott hear him under the pane of his displeasur." And in his sermon Wishart makes a reference which further reveals the dispositions of the town: "I have heard of thee, Haddingtoun, that in thee wold have bein at ane vane Clerk play¹ two or three thowsand people; and now to hear the messinger of the Eternall God, of all thy toune nor parishe can not be nombred a hundreth personis."² Thirteen years after the appearance of Wishart in Haddington, and when the new opinions were already widespread, the town seems still to have been slow to receive them. Writing to a correspondent in 1559, Knox enumerates eight towns where "the ministry is established";³ but Haddington is not among them. In the native district, therefore, of him who beyond every other individual was to be the instrument of her ruin, the ancient Church of Scotland had struck her very deepest roots, and offered the most obstinate front to the storm that broke upon her.

It has been received by all the biographers of Knox that he was educated in the Burgh School of

¹ That is, a mystery, or miracle-play.

² Knox, *Works*, i. 136-138.

³ *Ibid.* vi. 78; cf. also i. 236, 237.

Haddington; and, though he has himself nowhere said so, this was in all probability the case. The school of Haddington was the only considerable one in the neighbourhood, and, as Knox was brought up at its door, it seems improbable that he should have gone elsewhere for the elements of education. On the same ground of neighbourhood three distinguished Scotsmen before Knox have been claimed as pupils of the same school—Bower, the continuator of Fordun; Wyntoun, the author of the *Orygynale Cronykil*; and John Major.¹

The records of education in Scotland before the Reformation are somewhat meagre; but they are sufficient to show that in education as in religion the country was not dead to the higher interests of life. We know enough to justify the conclusion that the famous act of James IV.—probably unique at the time in Europe—ordaining that all burgesses and freeholders shall send their eldest sons to school till they had “perfytt Latyn” was perfectly reasonable, in view of the educational provision of the country. From the same records we can also form some notion of the system of primary and secondary education that existed in Knox’s day in Scotland.² The schools were of two classes—church and burgh schools. The whole scholastic system, however, was so entirely a part of the religious organisation of the country that, even where the burgh bore all the expenses of the school, it was

¹ Major himself tells us that he was educated at Haddington School. See below, p. 21, *note*.

² These records have been carefully gleaned by Mr. James Grant in his *Burgh Schools of Scotland* (Collins, Sons, and Co., 1876). In his introductory chapter Mr. Grant has brought together a number of interesting facts regarding the state of primary and secondary education under the ancient Church of Scotland.

yet mainly under the control of some religious body. Thus the Abbot of Holyrood was patron of Haddington Grammar School, though we know from the Burgh Records that the town was at the expense of its maintenance.¹ The teachers in the schools were almost exclusively ecclesiastics, and often combined their duties with some function in an adjoining church or cathedral. Till Knox's day, and perhaps later, the pupils likewise were generally lads destined for the clerical profession; and considering that Knox was subsequently in priest's orders, it was in all probability with this career marked out for him that he entered the school of Haddington. The following entry in the Haddington Town Records gives us an interesting glimpse of the management of a school before the Reformation. The date of the entry is the 6th October 1559; but from the phrase "use and wont" we infer that it implies a state of things that had long held in the relation of the town to the school: "The town-council thought it expedient to fee Mr. Robert Dormont to be skoillmaster of the burgh, with 24 marks in the year, payable off the common gude; and allowed for ilk toun bairn 12d. termly of skoill-house fee, and 4d. termly from the parents or friends of the bairn, as use and wont was. The council to find Mr. Dormont one chalmer and skoillhouse, mail free."² When we add that the master was usually appointed for life, it may be concluded that the teaching profession had a distinct status of its own before the Reformation.

The distinction between elementary and secondary education was clearly marked in the pre-Reformation schools. What we call elementary subjects were the

¹ Grant, p. 24.

² *Ibid.*

grace buik, prymar, and "plane Donat"; and from occasional notices in the records of the time it appears that only the first two were allowed to be taught in private or adventure schools.¹ It would appear, also, that the majority of these elementary schools—at least those whose instruction was confined to the vernacular—were usually kept by women. The "plane Donat" in use for younger children was an elementary Latin grammar of some twenty octavo pages adapted from the works of Donatus, a teacher of grammar and rhetoric at Rome in the fourth century. Andrew of Wyntoun, who has been mentioned as a probable pupil of Haddington school, thus refers to Donat in his *Cronykill*:—

Donate than wes in his state,
And in that tyme hys lybell wrate,
That now barnys oysys to lere
At thair begynning of gramere.²

Having received the elements of religious education from his grace buik and prymar,³ and of Latin grammar from his Donatus, Knox would then enter on the real work of the grammar school. The subjects in which he would now receive instruction were the elements

¹ These adventure schools seem to have been a source of considerable trouble in various burghs (Grant, pp. 63, 64). Their numbers prove that there must have been a considerable demand for them, and also that there was an intelligent interest in the education of younger children.

² *Cronykill*, Bk. V., c. x. 704.

³ In one of the passages in which John Major relieves his interminable discussions, he has a pretty touch, referring to a religious practice among the Scottish peasantry of his day. Before going to bed, children besought a blessing from each of their parents, who gave it with all fervour and sincerity. "Optimus erat mos apud nostrates saltem apud rurales, dum ephebus eram, quolibet vespere dum ibamus cubitum, extensis palmis benedictiones parentum suppliciter expetere, quas syncerissime filiis parentes impartiebant, dei optimi maximique benedictionem sanctissimam addentes."—*In Quartum*, ed. 1521, Dist. xxiii. Qu. 2. fol. cliii. I am indebted for this reference to Mr. Archibald Constable, the translator of Major's *History*.

of logic, science, and arithmetic, but above all Latin. From notices of certain schools we learn that it was on pain of severe punishment that the scholars talked their mother tongue; and in a school so reputable as that of Haddington, it is possible that this rule may also have been enforced. As school hours lasted, with brief intervals, from early morning till nightfall, a boy of ordinary abilities could hardly pass through such a discipline without acquiring a thorough knowledge of such Latin as was then taught in Scotland. From Knox's writings we have sufficient proof that he talked and wrote Latin with the facility of an educated churchman. The Latin he came to know was a great advance on that of Major, but it was equally far from the purity of his own contemporaries, Florence Wilson and Buchanan.¹ In Knox's youth the Latin of the Revival of Learning was unknown in Scotland, and men like Wilson and Buchanan had to learn in France the new ideals of scholarship. At the same time we may safely conclude that in Italy herself Knox, no more than Savonarola, would have followed the ways of humanism and burnt incense to Lorenzo the Magnificent.

Such were the influences amid which Knox grew up till his seventeenth year, when he went to sit at the feet of the most famous teacher of his day in Scotland. It was about this very date that Buchanan returned to his native country after two years' residence in Paris, broken in health, but already with the bent of his life taken—a bent that was to lead him in such different paths from those of Knox.

¹ A specimen of Knox's Latin will be found in a letter to Calvin (*Works*, vi. 133). Hector Boece wrote excellent Latin, but he does not rank with Wilson and Buchanan.

CHAPTER II

THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW—JOHN MAJOR— CHARACTER OF KNOX'S STUDIES

1522-1523

As has been said, Knox had probably from the first been set apart for the profession of the Church. Having learned all he could at the school of Haddington, he had now to complete his studies at some University at home or abroad. St. Andrews was within easiest distance, and its University was the most famous of the three with which Scotland was now provided. Haddington, moreover, was in the diocese of St. Andrews, whose bishop, in accordance with mediæval custom, was patron and head of its University. St. Andrews, therefore, commended itself as the natural home of his University studies. As it was, however, Knox made choice of the more distant, less famous, and less ancient University of Glasgow. In all probability this choice was determined by the presence in Glasgow of the most famous teacher of his day in Scotland, John Major. Some two years later, at least, Buchanan came all the way from Cardross, in the district of Menteith, to sit at the feet of Major in St. Andrews, though Glasgow was so much nearer his home. But besides Major's fame as a scholar and thinker, there was another reason why Knox should

specially seek him as his master. Major was a Haddingtonshire man, born "scarce five miles" from Knox's own birthplace, a pupil of the same school, and, we may fairly conclude, known to many equally acquainted with the family of Knox.¹ We have seen how Knox regarded the claims of "Scotische kyndnes"; and Major, also, in more than one passage shows that he felt not less keenly the bonds of common neighbourhood and a common nation.²

The English chronicler Hardyng, who speaks from personal observation, describes Glasgow a little past the middle of the fifteenth century as "a goodly cytee, a marchaunt toune, and universitee."³ Nevertheless, at the date of Knox's sojourn it held but the eleventh place among the towns of Scotland, and its population could not have been more than two thousand. Even more than Haddington it was a place where the Church dominated the life of the citizens. It was to the Church that the town owed its existence; and the Cathedral with its thirty-two prebends, whose houses and gardens clustered round the Archbishop's palace, was still the centre of its life. The foundation of its University by Bishop Turnbull in 1451 further increased the influence of the Church, for the mediæval University, in Scotland at least, was as essentially an ecclesiastical institution as the Cathedral itself. In the Bishop of Glasgow

¹ Speaking of Haddington, Major says: "Quae mei studii primitias dulcibus amplexibus fovens: suavissimoque grammaticae artis lacte me neophitum enutriens: et ad longiusculam aetatem provexit: et vix a Glegorno viculo (unde ipse sum oriundus) quinquies mille passuum intervallo discriminatim se jungitur: sic ut plures me Hadingthonensem appellitent: haud injuria."—*In Quartum Sententiarum* (Prefatory Epistle to Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, and Robert Cockburn, Bishop of Ross).

² Many passages in Major's *Hist. Maj. Brit.* prove this.

³ Hardyng's *Chronicle* (Ellis's edit. p. 425).

centred at once the spiritual, intellectual, and social interests of its students and citizens alike. At this time, moreover, the holder of the see was one in whose hands the privileges of his office were not likely to suffer.¹ It is not without significance that during Knox's term of study in Glasgow its Archbishop was James Beaton, of such ill repute in Scottish tradition as the chief agent in the death of the proto-martyr, Patrick Hamilton.² In Glasgow, therefore, Knox was in a veritable stronghold of the ancient Church, where everything spoke to him of the greatness of its past and of undisputed powers in the present.

While the ecclesiastical authority of the mediæval Church was thus supreme in Glasgow, the entire plan of studies at its University was in its first and last reference conceived in the interests of that Church. Mediæval theology and mediæval philosophy, as they had grown out of the spiritual and temporal necessities of the Papacy, were taught in profound indifference to the intellectual revolution in which Italy had been leading the way during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.³ Yet it was no discredit to Scotland that in

¹ Beaton was promoted to St. Andrews in 1522; but his successor in Glasgow, Gavin Dunbar, was not appointed till 1524.—Brunton and Haig, *Senators of the College of Justice*, p. 1.

² It is worth noting how differently Knox and Major regarded Beaton. According to Knox, he was "moir cairful for the world then he was to preach Christ, or yitt to advance any religioun, but for the fassioun only" (i. 13). On the other hand, Major specially commends Beaton, even for his share in the death of Hamilton: "Denique moribus maxime tuis, nam ut dicere occaepimus, non sine plurimorum invidia nobilem in primis sed infelicem Lutheranae haereseos et perfidiae sectatorem viriliter sustulisti: ut secundum nomen tuum sit et laus tua."—*In Matth. : ad init.* Paris, 1529.

³ We have a list, of date 1500, of ordinary and extraordinary books prescribed by the Glasgow Faculty of Arts for its students. The authors specified are Porphyry, Aristotle, and Petrus Hispanus.—*Mun. Alne Univ. Glasg.* ii. 25.

1522 her universities were as entirely mediæval as if neither Petrarch nor Lorenzo de Medici had ever lived. Since the foundation of the Universities of St. Andrews in 1410, of Glasgow in 1451, and Aberdeen in 1494, the number of Scotsmen who attended the continental schools had gradually diminished. As for those who sought to follow up their studies abroad, Paris was the University which they almost exclusively attended. But of all the great universities, Paris was the least influenced by the new spirit that was now transforming the intellectual ideals of Europe.¹ In Paris it was possible only for a man like Erasmus to see that the schoolmen had lived their day, and that other methods and other aims than theirs must now be followed in the interests of the mental and moral development of humanity. John Major and not Erasmus was the typical scholar and thinker of the University of Paris in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Major was a contemporary of Erasmus in Paris, yet in their modes of thought and expression centuries might have divided them. Their respective attitudes on one point show us the gulf that separated them. The Collège Montaigu was one of the most flourishing colleges in the University of Paris, and both Major and Erasmus had been its inmates and scholars. Among its sister colleges Montaigu was pre-eminent for its rigid adhesion to the scholastic theology. While Major, however, speaks of Montaigu as "his nursing-mother ever to be named by him with respect,"² for

¹ In confirmation of this view on the Catholic side, see the testimonies of Louis de Carvajal and Maldonatus, quoted by the Jesuit J. M. Prat, in his *Maldonat et l'Université de Paris au XVI^e Siècle* (1856).

² Major, *In Primum Sententiarum* (Epistola). In the *Scottish Review* for April 1892, Mr. T. G. Law, of the Signet Library, Edinburgh, has an excellent article on Major's position as a schoolman.

men of the new order like Erasmus and Rabelais, Montaigu was a byword for everything that was ridiculous and detestable.¹ But it was men like Major who in Scotland represented the best thought and the highest accomplishments of the Continent. His absence abroad was regarded in Scotland as a serious loss to his country,² and his settlement in Glasgow in 1518 was undoubtedly an event in the scholastic world of the day. In John Major, therefore, was incarnated the type of scholar and thinker whom the students of the University of Glasgow in 1522 were constrained to regard as the ideal they must set themselves to follow.

The University of Glasgow, now more than half a century old, had disappointed the intentions and hopes of its founders. Its endowments were so scanty that it had difficulty in providing tolerable house-room and class-room for its handful of students.³ Of its three faculties of law, theology, and arts, the last had proved

¹ The remarks regarding Montaigu which Rabelais puts in the mouth of Ponocrates are well known: "Seigneur, ne pensez que je l'aye mis au collège de pouillerye qu'on nomme Montaigu; mieulx l'eusse voulu mettre entre les quenaulx de Saint-Innocent pour l'énorme cruauté et villeinie que j'aye cognue; car trop mieulx sont traitez les forcez entre les Maures et Tartares, les meurtriers en la prison criminelle, voyre les chiens en vostre maison, que ne sont ces malautrus au dit collège." Erasmus's remarks on Montaigu will be found in his dialogue IXΘΥΟΦΑΓΙΑ. Writing from Paris in 1499, he describes the doctors of such colleges as Montaigu as 'nostrae tempestatis theologastros, . . . quorum cerebellis nihil putidius, lingua nihil barbarius, ingenio nihil stupidius, doctrina nihil spinosius, moribus nihil asperius, vita nihil fucatus, oratione nihil virulentius, pectore nihil nigrius.'—*Opera*, tom. iii. p. 77 (edit. Lugd.).

² In a dialogue prefixed to Major's *In Primum Sententiarum Commentarius*, David Cranston, one of the interlocutors, says: "Quem (Major) permonitum velim ut relictis scholicis exercitiis natale solum repetat: atque illic vineam dominicam colat: et concionando semina evangelica (unde optimos fructus animae fidelium demetant) late longeque dispergat."

³ The early records of the University abound with proofs of this. Major, writing before he was himself a regent in Glasgow, says of it that it was *parum dotata*.

the most prosperous, and had even threatened to absorb the other two.¹ At the date when Knox joined the faculty it had its home in a building granted by James, the first Lord Hamilton.² Here the students in arts, who could not have numbered more than twenty, were boarded and taught during the course of study required for the three grades of bachelor, licentiate, and master. The frequent statutes of the faculty regarding the morals and studies of its scholars give at once the impression of an honest zeal for their welfare and of the difficulties of a struggling institution.³ The life within the college should, according to its rules, have been of almost monastic severity; but the records of the University prove that, scanty as its students were, they successfully emulated the ways of the students of Paris and Bologna.

It was in 1518 that John Major came from Paris to take the position of principal regent or tutor in the college of the Faculty of Arts,⁴ where he remained till June 1523.⁵ As Knox joined the University in October 1522,⁶ the direct teaching he received from Major lasted less than a year. For the same length of time Buchanan was afterwards Major's scholar at St. Andrews, and we may conclude that the prelections to which he listened were identical in spirit with those to which Knox had listened three years before. Writing in his advanced age of his old

¹ *Mun. Univ. Glasg.* Preface, p. xiv.

² *Ibid.* Preface, p. xxxix.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 19, 24.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 134, where Major's name is first mentioned in connection with the University of Glasgow.

⁵ *Records of the University of St. Andrews.*

⁶ Knox was incorporated along with thirteen others on St. Crispin's Day (25th October), 1522. His name appears as Joannes Knox.—*Mun. Alme Univ. Glasg.* ii. 147.

master's teaching, Buchanan describes it as "sophistry rather than dialectics."¹ From the point of view of humanists like Erasmus and Buchanan, this was a perfectly just description of that scholastic logic and philosophy of which both had known something in their youth. The essential aim of humanism was to understand things in their simple and natural sense: the triumph of the later schoolmen was to add subtlety to subtlety till the natural sense was obscured beyond recovery. The most cursory examination of the works of Major and Buchanan shows that they were not only men of distinct types of mind, but that they belonged to distinct developments of thought. Their attitude on the fundamental questions of life differed no less than the forms of expression in which they respectively clothed their deepest thoughts and feelings.

The relation of Knox to Major in the development of ideas in the sixteenth century is at once more interesting and more difficult to mark with precision. By his adoption of Protestantism, Knox parted company with Major on a question that lay at the root of their life's endeavour. Yet in their scheme of thought and their mental habit there was no such essential antagonism between Knox and Major as between Major and Buchanan. As a significant fact in Knox's own mental history his relation to Major has an interest of its own; but this relation has wider bearings, and touches the inmost life of the religious revolution which Knox was the main instrument in achieving.

Beyond the fact that he had Major as one of his

¹ *Vita sua*. This sketch of his own life will be found in the Appendix to my *Life of Buchanan*.

teachers, we have no other trustworthy information regarding Knox's studies in Glasgow. It is not even known how long his University studies lasted, though it is certain that he did not take the degree of Master of Arts.¹ According to questionable authority, after the completion of his own studies he taught the old logic and philosophy with such success as to rival Major himself.² In the absence of more definite information, therefore, it is from Knox's own writings that we must gather the character and extent of his studies, and how far his modes of thought may be traced to early influences in Glasgow.

In spite of his breach with the ancient Church, Knox's conception of life is as essentially mediæval as that of Major himself. The dominant idea of mediævalism was the conception of all human effort and experience in certain supernatural relations. It need hardly be said that for Knox supernatural relations were the beginning and end of every act of his life. But with this conception as the governing idea of his life, it was impossible that Knox could really break with the mental habit and modes of thought that distinguished the schoolmen. Though he frequently speaks of them with contempt, the truth is that alike by the themes he handled and his manner of handling them, Knox is

¹ This is proved by the fact that his name never appears with the addition *Magister*. He may have taken the bachelor's diploma, however, as only eighteen months' study was required of the candidates.—*Mun. Alme Univ. Glasg.* ii. 27.

² Verheiden, *Effigies et Elogia Praestant. Theolog.* p. 92 (1602). David Laing pointed out that Knox, not being a Master of Arts, was not qualified to teach in the University. This condition, however, does not seem to have been strictly insisted on in the Scottish universities. At least, according to Hector Boece, *bachelors* were in the habit of teaching in the University of Aberdeen. At Aberdeen, he says, there were "baccalaurei (ut dicunt) decem, qui et doctores audirent et erudirent alios."—*Murthl. et Aberd. Episc. Vitae*, p. 66 (Ban. Club edit.).

essentially a schoolman himself.¹ Like them, he made of religion a body of abstract dogmas on which he exercised his intellect with the same keen regard to the traditional rules of dialectic.² In his treatise on *Predestination*, written when he was about his fifty-fourth year, we have all the characters in modified form of John Major's Commentaries on Peter Lombard or the Four Gospels.

In studying Knox we are studying the character of the religious revolution in Scotland. It is specially worthy of note, therefore, that this affinity for abstract dialectic was recognised throughout Europe as the distinctive mark of the Scottish type of intellect. In a curious passage in his *Praise of Folly*, Erasmus, enumerating the commonly-received characteristics of the European nations, notes regarding the Scots that they "plume themselves on their skill in dialectic subtleties."³ The bent of Knox for abstract conceptions was thus part of his natural inheritance as a Scotsman, and Major only deepened an instinctive predilection. If we compare Knox with the English Latimer we at once see that, with their common zeal and their common strain of homely humour, they belong essentially to two distinct types of the religious reformer. While Knox, even in his most practical

¹ A specimen at once of Knox's exegesis and his dialectics will best illustrate the remarks in the text. It occurs in the treatise on *Predestination*, in which Knox is holding an argument with an Anabaptist. In disproof of the doctrine of reprobation, his opponent has urged that "God must love his birthes, because he hath given a naturall inclination to all beastes to love their birthes." Knox triumphantly traverses this argument with the following verse from Job: "Which (the ostrich) leaveth his egges in the earth and maketh them hote in the dust, and forgetteth that the foote might scatter them, or that the wilde beast might breake them."—*Works*, v. 57.

² This will afterwards appear.

³ *Colloquia Familiaria*, etc. p. 1230 (Leipzig, 1713).

discourses addressed to the most uninstructed of readers, never ceases to subtilise on the abstract conceptions of justification, sanctification, predestination, and the like, Latimer, even in his most eloquent moments, never leaves the ground of the simple ethics of the Christian teaching; and this fundamental distinction between their two representative reformers has remained the distinction of the religion of England and Scotland since the transformation of both by a common revolution.

For Knox, as for all religious reformers of his type, secular studies were valuable only so far as they served the practical apprehension of divinely-revealed truth. Yet the writings of Knox, no less than his strenuous practice, prove that he had a genuine enthusiasm for knowledge. While his work does not give the impression of the trained student, he must at one time have read largely both in classical and Christian literature. In one curious passage, indeed, he seems to make confession of an undue interest in profane studies at a certain period of his life. "I am not ignorant," he says, "that as the Israelites lothed the manna, because that every daye they sawe and eate but one thinge, so some there bee now-a-dayes (who will not be holden of the worste sorte) that after once reading some parcelles of the Scriptures, do commit themselves altogether to prophane authors and humain lectures, because that the variety of matters therin contened doeth bringe with it daily delectation, where contrariwyse within the simple Scriptures of God the perpetuall repetition of one thinge is fashious and werysome. This temptation, I confesse, may enter in God's very elect for a time, but impossible it is that therein they continew to the

end.”¹ That after his fortieth year Knox made a serious attempt to acquire Greek and Hebrew must be set down, therefore, to no such motive as animated the Scaligers and the Estiennes, but to the simple desire to quicken his faith at the source of his inspiration.²

¹ *Works*, iv. 135.

² Knox is somewhat boastful of his knowledge of Hebrew. Thus, in his treatise on *Predestination* he says: “The place of the Prophete Oseas is of you evill understand: the lacke of the Hebrew tongue may be the cause of your error. And albeit your great and perfect angell Castalio pretend great knowledge in that tongue, yet, in that, as in many other places, a child may espie his negligence.”—*Works*, v. 241.

CHAPTER III

PREPARATION FOR KNOX

FROM 1522 to 1545 Knox passes completely out of sight, and not till his fortieth year does the real work of his life begin. In his *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, which is but his own biography writ large, he first brings himself forward as an agent of the revolution in the year 1546.¹ Of the first half of his life, neither himself nor any of his friends deemed it necessary to leave even the most meagre record. This reticence has an easy and natural explanation. It was his necessary conviction that as a member of the ancient Church he had been fast in the bonds of iniquity. To have been forty years a servant of the system which he came to consider as the embodiment of every evil principle, must have been a subject of humiliation and self-reproach on which Knox could dwell with little satisfaction at any period of his later life. We may be certain, therefore, that in the opinion of himself and his friends it was the better service to the world that these early years should be forgotten.

By the date that Knox threw in his lot with the religious movement of which he came to be the great protagonist, Scotland was in the full current of all the forces that moved Europe to the foundations during

¹ *Works*, i. 137.

the sixteenth century. In his own account of the Reformation in Scotland Knox has briefly sketched the growth of religious feeling in the country anterior to the appearance of George Wishart, from whose mission he dates the beginning of the end of the ancient faith in Scotland. But we have to look beyond Scotland for the explanation of her religious and political developments during the sixteenth century. As part of the European system of which the Papacy had been the leading principle, Scotland was in organic connection with the leading continental countries. What these countries thought and felt Scotland sooner or later felt and thought also, and to European more than national causes her religious revolution was mainly due. It was her part in the general expansion of the great Western nations that made possible the work of Knox.

From the year 800, when, by a mutual understanding of their respective functions, Charlemagne was crowned Emperor of the Romans by Pope Leo III., Western Europe had come to regard the Papacy as the essential condition of individual and corporate life, as prime a necessity in human affairs as the sun in the course of nature. Thus conceived, the power of the Church underlay all human relations. It was the consecration of the Church that constituted the family; the Church defined the relations of rulers and their subjects, and the Church was the final court of appeal on the ultimate questions of human life and destiny. In the nature of things such a power could never be realised as it was ideally conceived; yet during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the period when the power of the Popes was most adequate to their claims, they undoubtedly went far to make the idea a reality.

But the energies of the human spirit were bound sooner or later to issue in developments with which mediæval conceptions were fundamentally irreconcilable. Under Innocent III., twelve centuries from the birth of Christianity, the Papal system exhibited in the fullest perfection the ideal which it had been its function to embody; and with his successor Boniface the decadence already begins. During the thirteenth century along every line of men's activity there were protests, conscious and unconscious, against the system typified in the Pope at Rome.

In Joachim of Flora, Knox himself claims a predecessor whose work was identical in spirit with his own;¹ and it is the fact that the so-called "Eternal Gospel," associated with the name of the Calabrian monk, was a serious menace to the mediæval Church during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.² The numberless sects and fraternities, Beguins, Beghards, Fraticelli, Flagellants, Lollards, Apostolic Brethren, etc., which sprang directly or indirectly from this movement speak clearly to the revolutionary fever that had seized on men's spirits and was impelling them to other ideals than the traditions of Rome.³ In Scotland, also, as we shall see, this abortive revolution had its representatives as numerous and energetic as in any other country. In the sphere of pure thought there were tendencies in essential antagonism to the teaching of the Church. In the thirteenth century, largely through the Scotsman Michael Scott,⁴ the Arabian Aristotle was

¹ *Works*, vi. 505.

² Renan, *Nouvelles Études d'Histoire Religieuse*—*Joachim de Flore et l'Évangile Éternel*.

³ These sects mainly sprang from the fanaticism of the Third Order of St. Francis, which itself drew its inspiration from the "Eternal Gospel."—*Ibid.* p. 310.

⁴ Renan, *Averroës et l'Averroïsme*, p. 162.

introduced into the schools of Western Europe, and thenceforward the teaching of Averrhoës was a dangerous leaven in the speculations of the succeeding generations of schoolmen. The final triumph of Nominalism over Realism, to which the pious feelings of the Middle Ages had been so deeply engaged,¹ was the death-blow to that scholastic philosophy² which had expressed the highest consciousness of Christian thinkers. By the close of the fifteenth century that combination of theology and philosophy, which had grown out of the conditions of mediæval Christianity, had ceased to be a living system of thought, capable of satisfying the growing needs of the human spirit. Simultaneously with the decay of scholasticism the revival of Greek and Roman antiquity opened men's minds to new ideals, and supplied the fresh material that was so much needed for the quickening of intellectual life. In itself the Renaissance was as far as possible from leading men to higher ideals in religion, yet by two of its results it gave the most direct impulse to the Reformation. It paganised the Church, thus hastening that moral disintegration which was a prime cause of the religious revolution; and by its revelation of other principles of society than those on which mediæval Europe had been based, it lightened the load of tradition, and made a new departure a less formidable conception. The special ill-fortune of the popes during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries further hastened the result towards which all these forces tended. By

¹ *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico*, edited by the Rev. W. W. Shirley, M.A. p. lii. (Rolls Series). By the majority of the schoolmen a modified Realism was believed to be most in accord with Christian doctrine.

² Dean Mansel, Hauréau, and Prantl all agree that the triumph of Nominalism involved the ruin of scholasticism.

the Babylonish Captivity, when the papal residence was fixed for seventy years (1305-76) at Avignon, and by the Great Schism (1378-1417), during which the spectacle was seen, first of two and afterwards of three popes claiming to be the vicars of God, the papacy suffered a loss of prestige in the eyes of Europe which it never afterwards completely recovered. But it was in the political development of Europe that, during the last three centuries of the Middle Ages, the papacy found the most formidable force with which it had to deal in defending the very principle of its existence. As the countries of Western Europe became more distinctly individualised, their peoples grew every century into a fuller consciousness of special national interests and national destinies. On the other hand, during these centuries the Pope gradually lost his position as the disinterested umpire of Europe, sinking into an Italian prince with a temporal policy of his own, which led him to seek allies among other potentates as they fell in with his own special ends of the moment.

In every country of Christendom these tendencies had wrought with more or less effect; and when the religious revolution came in earnest, it was merely the special circumstances of each nation that determined its acceptance or rejection of the alternative offered by Luther. To understand the Reformation in Scotland, as elsewhere, we must have before us the unconscious attitude towards Rome which had been begotten by the expansion of men's minds during the preceding three centuries. Totally distinct from the aggressive spirit of religious reform, this attitude was simply one of good-natured indifference which special influences might quicken into zeal either for the old or

the new order.¹ The feeling was in the air that the age of unquestioning faith was gone, and that the Church existed on sufferance as a necessary part of the social order. It is only with this state of the national consciousness before us, that we can assign their true value to the various forces which finally wrought the overthrow of the Catholic Church in Scotland.

The foreign relations of Scotland have the closest bearing on the direction of her development during the sixteenth century. With the first quarter of that century begin those international relations between the various great powers of Europe which distinguish the modern time from the Middle Ages.² In the shifting interests of continental princes a league lasting for centuries, such as that between France and Scotland, was no longer possible; and Scotland soon learned this to her cost. If things had been as they were, the natural result of Flodden should have been to knit still more closely the ancient friendship of the two countries. When in the extremity of her distress, however, Scotland turned to Louis XII., it was that prince's special interest of the moment to be on the best of terms with England herself, and he refused the help that was asked. By this rebuff Scotland was taught that she also had entered on a new phase of foreign relations, and that, like other countries, she must wait upon events in the choice of her allies. During the sixteenth century all the leading powers of Europe found it their interest to court the good-will of Scotland; but, as in previous centuries, it was mainly with England and France that her own wellbeing was bound up. By the relations of

¹ This will afterwards appear.

² The foreign correspondence of Henry VIII., says Professor Brewer, shows that the Middle Ages are at an end.—*Reign of Henry VIII.* pp. 1, 2.

these two countries themselves, however, as well as by the necessities of her own internal development, it came to be a matter involving her very existence to which of the two powers she must look as her natural ally. As things now went, her independent existence was as seriously menaced by France and England as it had been at any previous period of her history. It was now more than ever the interest of England that Scotland should not be an enemy with whom she had to reckon in every foreign and domestic crisis. By the consolidation of France¹ and by the Union of Spain and the Empire under Charles V., it became the pressing policy of the English king to strengthen his hands by some definitive understanding with the Scottish people. With France in possession of Scotland, Henry VIII. knew that the case of England would be desperate. It was with undisguised alarm, therefore, that Henry saw the Duke of Albany, whom he could regard only as the representative of the French king, made Regent of Scotland the year after the battle of Flodden. It is by this conviction of Henry and his counsellors that the existence of England was involved in the fate of Scotland, that we must explain their remorseless policy towards that country throughout the whole of Henry's reign. On his breach with Rome in 1534 Henry's reasons for some form of common action with Scotland were strengthened tenfold. As the one great Western nation outside the Catholic Church, the contingency might arise when the Catholic

¹ By the annexation of the Duchy of Burgundy and also of Brittany France had become a much more formidable enemy. The success of the French kings in annexing these territories doubtless stimulated Henry VIII. to make himself master of Scotland. England, in his estimation, had as good a claim to Scotland as France to Brittany and Burgundy.

powers should deem it their duty to Christendom to extirpate heresy in its stronghold. We now see that in the mutual jealousy of these powers England had the best pledge of her security, yet the Spanish Armada at the close of the century proves what real ground for anxiety the peculiar position of England involved.¹

France was hardly less eager than England to fashion Scotland to her own ends. In his lifelong rivalry with Charles V. the French king had, with the exception of a few short intervals,² to count on Henry as an ever-wakeful foe, ready to take him at every advantage. Henry and the Emperor had but to agree upon a common plan of action, and, as was more than once proved,³ France would have been on the brink of destruction. To have Scotland as a constant check on the ambition of the English king was thus more than ever the interest of France; and with as little regard for the interests of Scotland as Henry VIII., Francis pursued the same unscrupulous policy in that country. The design alike of himself and his successor, Henry II., was simply to have Scotland at their disposal as a powerful weapon with which they could threaten England as occasion needed.

On her choice between England or France as her ally depended the line of religious development which Scotland should follow. This choice, however, was no longer so simple as in the preceding centuries. This is proved by the fact that almost from the battle of Flodden onwards a party favourable to English

¹ Cf. *Calendar of State Papers* (Scotland), Oct. 8, 1547: "Great talk that the French king, the Emperor, the Bishop of Rome, and others will make war on England."

² As, for instance, after the sack of Rome by the troops of the Emperor in 1527, when Henry made approaches to Francis.

³ As on the occasion of the Emperor's invasion of Provence in 1536.

interests grew in numbers and influence as the century went on. But the old hatred of England, intensified by the disaster of Flodden, and the traditional friendship of France, could not be forgotten in a day. During the first half of the century, moreover, events seemed to favour the interests of France. The Regent Albany was more a Frenchman than a Scot, and his influence in the country went all for France against England. James V., of his own free will and by the inspiration of his advisers, had the predilection of his fathers for France, and twice chose a queen from that country. Under the regency of his widow, Mary of Lorraine, France was supreme in the councils of the country. Yet in the end it was this very dominance of French interests that told for Knox and Protestantism.¹ Many Scotsmen came to believe, and had excellent reason for believing, that the liberties of their country were seriously threatened by France, and that, in view of the proximity of England and her great superiority in strength, an English and Scottish alliance was the safer policy for their country. In many of the nobles the feeling steadily grew that England, and not France, was their natural ally. Twice under Albany, and again under James V., they refused to march into English country and risk a battle; and in this refusal there can be little doubt that they showed themselves wiser patriots than their rulers. Another such calamity as Flodden, they well knew, must have placed Scotland at the feet of their ancient enemy. In the eagerness of Albany and James to invade

¹ The exasperation against the French in Scotland is strikingly shown in certain of the prayers in *The Book of Common Order*, authorised by the Reformed Church of Scotland.—Knox, *Works*, vi. 310.

England, therefore, they saw the influence of France rather than the patriotic impulse of the guardians of Scottish interests.¹ The nobles friendly to England had their own objects to serve; but their duplicity and greed have unduly moved the wrath of modern historians. As a class the Scottish politicians of the sixteenth century were neither better nor worse than their contemporaries in other countries. What we have to note with regard to the "assured Scots," as they came to be called, is that beneath their self-seeking there was a feeling which was shared by the best and most thoughtful of their countrymen. It was the fixed idea of John Major, who by his long sojourn in France was well disposed to that country, that only by their union could England and Scotland ever be in a position to develop the resources of the two peoples;² and even after the merciless invasions of Hertford, Sir David Lyndsay, a patriot if ever there was one, had the same conviction.³ In the nature of things this union was bound sooner or later to come, and the predominance of French counsels in the nation only hastened a natural conclusion. The anti-papal tendency in Scotland was thus in the line of the true political development of the country. Had England remained a part of the Roman Church, the Scottish Reformation would have been an impossibility. It was to England almost from the first that

¹ Leslie's *History of Scotland*, translated by Father James Dalrymple, Part III. p. 185 (Scottish Text Society).

² "Dicere ausim Anglum Scotumque Regibus suis consulere, si inter eos non semper matrimonia contrahant, quatenus de utroque regno unum Britanniae regnum faciant."—*Hist. Maj. Brit.* lib. i. cap. 7. This is only one passage among many in which Major expresses the same opinion.

³ "The Tragedie of the Cardinal," Lyndsay's *Poems*, i. 145 *et seq.* (Laing's edit.).

the Scottish reformers looked for the support which should ensure their final triumph.

By the testimony of Catholic and Protestant alike, the ancient Church of Scotland died through its unfaithfulness to its own special mission. So organic was its decay that no effort within itself could avert the inevitable end. Long before the end came her friends saw clearly whither they were drifting. In Council after Council they sought to recall the clergy of all ranks to a sense of their duty, and to warn them of the volcano on which they were sleeping. But the legislation of the Church for a full century before the Reformation proves that she had not in herself the energy needed to renew her ancient life, and to resist the new forces that grew more formidable with every year. In the teeth of every warning and appeal the clergy of all ranks persisted in those courses which at last made them impossible in the public opinion of the country. As in the case of other sections of the Church, a spiritual impulse from without might have changed the religious destinies of Scotland, but the Counter-reformation, born of the Jesuits and the Council of Trent, came too late to undo the work of the Lords of the Congregation.

The corruption of the mediæval Church in Scotland is the commonplace of Scottish history. By the fifteenth century, in Scotland as in the other countries of Christendom, the character of the clergy was the everyday theme of ridicule or indignant protest. The coming of the Franciscan friars in the thirteenth century had for a time renewed the religious life both of England and Scotland, but the developments of this new element in the Church fully justified the hesitation of Innocent III. in stamping it with apostolical

approval.¹ In the course of two centuries the friars had departed so far from their founder's intention that they are largely responsible for the state to which the Church had come.²

A letter of James I. addressed to the Abbots and Priors of the Benedictine and Augustinian monasteries in Scotland, March 1425, clearly marks the fact that these institutions no longer bore their ancient character for holiness and zeal.³ In the kindest but firmest terms he contrasts their inefficiency with the magnificence of their endowments; warns them that they have lost the respect of the country, and that their present courses can only end in their own ruin; closing with the promise that, if they will seriously set about mending their ways, they may count upon his support against all their adversaries. The Records of the Scottish Provincial Councils, which have been preserved, more than bear out this indictment of James. In the reiterated statutes of these Councils, so specific in their charges of the grossest vices of the clergy, we have at once the evidence of the evil, and of the Church's anxiety and its incompetence to deal with it.⁴ The best proof that a religious revolution was needed is the fact that the Church was fully conscious of its own shortcomings, yet was powerless to set itself

¹ *Monumenta Franciscana*, ii. pp. viii.-ix. (edited by Richard Howlett, Rolls Series).

² *Ibid.* p. ix.

³ *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, ii. 25, 26.

⁴ The headings of a few of these statutes will indicate the nature of the corruption with which the Councils had to deal: "De cohabitatione clericorum et mulierum: quod clerici et maxime in sacris ordinibus constituti qui detinent publice concubinas eas prorsus a se removeant infra mensem.—De poena incestus clericorum.—Quod focariae et concubinae sacerdotum vel clericorum beneficiariorum aut infra sacros ordines positorum non admittantur in ecclesiis ad aliquam communionem fidelium."—Robertson, *Concilia Scotiae*, vol. ii.

in order. On the eve of the Revolution she exhibited every symptom of an institution that had done its work, and now only cumbered the ground to the hindrance of new growths of national feeling and intelligence. In 1540 an Act of Parliament declared that the "unhonestie and misrule of Kirkmen baithe in wette, knowlege, and maneris is the mater and caus that the kirk and kirkmen ar lychtlyit and contemptnit." A Provincial Council that met in Edinburgh in 1549 confesses that "the two roots and causes" of all the troubles of the Church are "the corrupt manners and profane lewdness of ecclesiastical persons of almost all ranks, together with their crass ignorance of letters and all culture."¹ In 1558-59, two years before the end came, the same evils existed in undiminished degree. In that year certain lay lords, alarmed at the dangers that threatened the ancient Church, submitted to the Queen Regent, Mary of Lorraine, a series of articles for the reform of the clergy, that they might be considered by the Provincial Council about to meet in Edinburgh.² As the candid opinion of laymen, who were still her faithful sons, the advice which these articles gave shows to what pass the Church had come, grounded as their advice is on the "opin sclander that is gevin to the haill estates thruch the said spirituale mens ungodly and dissolute lyves."

In the case of an institution, sick from head to foot like the ancient Scottish Church in its last years, it is difficult to say which of its shortcomings more than another did most to hasten its end. It is the assertion of both Protestant and Catholic writers alike, however, that the unscrupulous distribution of benefices wrought

¹ *Ibid.* p. 81.

² *Ibid.* pp. 146 *et seq.*

its most serious troubles.¹ By the intrusion into abbacies and bishoprics of mere boys and persons notoriously unfit for their office, not only was the public conscience shocked, but the Church paralysed to a degree that rendered it a mere incubus on the life of the nation. According to John Major, the highest authority on such a point, the great extent of the country parishes was a radical weakness in the Scottish Church,² which seriously affected the allegiance of the people; and in the sixteenth century, when zeal had for the most part died out of the hearts of its clergy, the neglect of religious provision for large sections of the population left the ground free for the reception of the new teaching. In Scotland, as in other countries, the immense wealth of the Church was a cause of envy and discontent which grew with the wellbeing and intelligence of the people. In proportion to the resources of the country the Scottish clergy were probably the richest in Europe,³ and the contrast between their profession and their luxurious living made an impression on the public mind to which the literature of the time bears emphatic testimony. By its very success in the past, therefore, the mediæval Church in Scotland had become unfit to meet the new conditions of the national life. Through its policy and zeal it had attained an ascendancy over the minds and hearts of the people incompatible with the healthy spiritual

¹ Thus Ninian Winzet (1562) writes: "The speciall rutis of all mischeif . . . be the twa infernal monstres Pryde and Avarice, of the quhilkeis vnhappellie hes vpsprung the electioun of vnqualifeit bischopis and vtheris pastores in Scotland," etc.—*Certaine Tractatis*, i. 6 (Scot. Text Soc. Edited by the Rev. J. K. Hewison, M.A.) Cf. letter to the Pope regarding James V.'s illegitimate sons.—Theiner, *Monumenta*.

² *Hist. Maj. Brit.* Book i. chap. v.

³ It is computed that in Scotland one-half of the wealth of the country was in the possession of the Church.

growth of clergy and laity alike, and with the natural instinct of expansion men welcomed the new gospel, which brought with it the promise of a larger life.

While, through these faults of its own, the national Church of Scotland lost its hold on the people, for a century and a half before the Reformation, it had enemies in its midst who possessed all the zeal that comes of a fresh and profound religious emotion. By the close of the fourteenth century the religious ferment produced throughout Europe by the great Franciscan movement¹ was already active in many districts of Scotland. Under the vague name of Lollards,² denouncers of the Church gave such ground for alarm that both the civil and religious authorities took energetic measures to crush them. An Act for the burning of heretics was passed in Scotland before a similar Act was passed in England.³ In 1398 it was enacted that the king at his coronation should be sworn to do his utmost to put down all heresy;⁴ and in 1424 that heretics and Lollards are to be punished according to the laws of the Church and with the support of the secular power.⁵ At Perth in 1407 James Resby, described as of "the school of Wycliffe," was burned for heresy six years after William Sawtry, the first English martyr, suffered a similar fate in England, and eight years before Huss and Jerome of Prague.⁶ In 1416 a

¹ As has been already said, the Third Order of St. Francis was the hotbed of all heresy throughout the fourteenth century.

² "Under the common name of Lollards was gathered every species of discontent."—*Fascic. Zizan. Mag. Johan. Wyclif cum Tritico*, p. lxvii. On the first appearance of the Lollards in England the bishops were at a loss what to think of them. Henry, Bishop of Worcester, called them "followers of Mahomet."—Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 202.

³ *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, i. 640.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 573.

⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 7.

⁶ It is Bower who calls Resby of "the school of Wycliffe." The date 1406 is also given as the year of his death.

Congregation of the Church declared that all Masters of Arts in the newly founded University of St. Andrews should take oath to defend the Church against the attacks of Lollards;¹ and in 1425 an Act of Parliament enjoined bishops to see that their Inquisitors of Heretical Pravity made special search for all Lollards and heretics.² This common activity on the part of the lay and clerical authorities proves that they were aware of what had speedily been discovered in England, that Lollardism was essentially a political as well as a religious movement.³

By their own excesses and by the unsparing measures taken for their suppression, the followers of Wycliffe soon ceased to be a perceptible force in England, and hardly to be reckoned among the factors in its religious revolution of the sixteenth century.⁴ In Scotland, on the other hand, the Lollards had a distinct succession which never failed till their absorption in the greater movement of Luther. The burning of Paul Craw at St. Andrews in 1431 is proof that after it had ceased to be a subject of alarm in England heresy was still a serious menace in Scotland. If it be true also that he was specially sent by the Lollards of Bohemia,⁵ we have a singular instance of the indomitable purpose and the widespread action of the

¹ Registers of the Univ. of St. Andrews.

² *Act. Parl. Scot.* ii. 7.

³ The political character of Lollardism is very clearly brought out in the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*; cf. p. 272.

⁴ This is Mr. Gairdner's opinion, based on the most intimate knowledge of the whole period of English history immediately anterior to the Reformation.—Gairdner and Spedding, *Studies in English History*, p. 2. It should be said, however, that there is considerable difference of opinion on this point.

⁵ *Scotichronicon*, ii. 495 (edit. 1759). Bower's fierce diatribe against heresy in chaps. xxi. and xxii. shows the alarm with which the Lollards were regarded.

new sectaries. In 1443 another Act was passed against heretics, which by the precision of its terms shows that these enemies of the Church were as elusive as they were formidable.¹ It is not till 1525 that a fresh enactment against heretics appears in the Statute-book; though it is clear that they remained an element in the country, hated and feared and scorned by the majority of the people. In the length at which the contemporary chronicler, Bower, discusses the question of Lollardism, we have sufficient proof of the alarm with which it was regarded by the churchmen of his time. In 1494, on the accusation of Blackader, Archbishop of Glasgow, thirty persons from the county of Ayr were tried for heresy by James IV. and his council. On thirty-four points they were accused of departing from the teaching of the Church. As in one of the counts they were credited with denying the Pope, and in another with asserting that all men and women are equally priests, their fate by the statute against heretics could hardly be doubtful.² According to Knox, however, the authority for the whole story,³ the wit of one of the accused gained the king to his side; though it is more probable that the burning of thirty of his subjects hardly recommended itself either to James's policy or his good-nature. While the public records thus bear witness to the irrepressible activity of the Lollards, popular literature tells the same story with equal emphasis. Thus, in a poem entitled "The Prais of Aige" by Walter Kennedy,

¹ *Act. Parl. Scot.* ii. 33.

² The thirty-four points in the accusation against the "Lollards of Kyle," as they were called, may be compared with the twenty-four charges of heresy brought against the English Lollards in the *Fasciculi*, pp. 319-325. There is a strong general resemblance in both indictments.

³ *Works*, i. 7-12.

written about the date of the trial above mentioned, we have these two significant lines—

The Schip of Faith, tempestuous wind and rane
Dryvis in the see of Lollardry that blawis.¹

In his "Flyting" with William Dunbar, also, Kennedy, doubtless thinking of his antagonist's free handling of the clergy in many of his poems, styles him "Lamp Lollardorum" and "Judas Jow, Juglour, Lollard Laureat."²—From this sketch of heresy in Scotland it will be seen that Knox had good reason for tracing his spiritual ancestry beyond the century of the Reformation. On certain points of doctrine the Lollards had not, in his opinion, the full measure of the truth; but in their fundamental views, both in religion and politics, Knox and they were not far apart.

The eagerness with which the teaching of Luther was received in Scotland proves that it fell on ground well prepared to profit by it. As early as the beginning of 1519 the writings of Luther were to be found in France, Spain, Italy, Brabant, and England.³ That they reached Scotland about the same date there can hardly be any doubt. Through her staple port, Campvere in Zealand, she was in the closest contact with the Continent; and, as in the case of England,⁴ it was in the way of merchandise that books of heresy were mainly introduced into the country. By 1525 the circulation of such books in Scotland had become so alarming that an Act of Parliament was passed in that year, prohibiting their importation under the severest

¹ Lord Hailes, *Ancient Scottish Poems*, p. 190.

² Dunbar's *Poems*, Part I. p. 28 (Scottish Text Society).

³ Gieseler, *A Compendium of Church History*, v. 241, note.—T. & T. Clark.

⁴ Strype, *Memorials of Cranmer*, p. 42.

penalties attached to heresy.¹ But it was in 1527 that, according to Knox, the history of the Reformation in Scotland had its true beginning.² In that year Patrick Hamilton, who in the opinion of the later Scotch Reformers was the first of their countrymen to grasp in all its fulness the fundamental doctrine of the Reformation—justification by faith—made his appearance as a public preacher in Scotland. By his execution in 1528 the authorities of the Church gave effectual help to the movement it was their object to check. Again in 1535 Parliament had to pass an Act against the possession of heretical literature except by the clergy.³ In 1539, says Buchanan, “many suspected of Lutheranism were seized; towards the end of February five were burned, nine recanted, many were exiled,”⁴ among the last being Buchanan himself, who with difficulty made his escape to England. But, as the Statute-book shows, the new opinions grew in spite of every effort to suppress them. In 1540 we have an Act against image-breaking; and another clause, which betrays the desperation of the authorities, enacts that informers regarding private meetings of heretics should share in the escheat of their goods, and should receive pardon if heretics themselves.⁵ Passing over an Act of 1542, we read that in 1543 “the Lord Governor (the Earl of Arran) states that heretics increase rapidly and spread opinions contrary to the Church.”⁶ Thus, two

¹ *Act. Parl. Scot.* ii. 295. Less than a month after the passing of this Act, Gavin Dunbar obtained from the Government a warrant to the sheriffs of the city and county of Aberdeen, setting forth that “sundry strangers and others within that diocese were possessed of Luther’s books, and favoured his errors and false opinions.”—Lorimer, *The Scottish Reformation*, p. 3.

² *Works*, i. 13.

³ *Act. Parl. Scot.* ii. 341.

⁴ *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, lib. xiv. p. 277 (edit. Ruddiman).

⁵ *Act. Parl. Scot.* ii. 371.

⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 443.

years before Knox publicly identified himself with the cause, Protestantism had already struck such wide and deep roots in the country that the state proved unequal to cope with it.

In the preceding sketch we have sought to indicate the various forces at work in Scotland during the first half of the sixteenth century. On the special point under consideration, however—the state of religious opinion in the country—it is worth while to note the judgments of those who may be regarded as representing the highest consciousness of the nation; and in John Major, Hector Boece, and Sir David Lyndsay we have the three men who, by their character and accomplishments, have the best claim to speak the deepest thought and feeling of their countrymen. All three spoke from within the Church; the first two mainly addressing the clergy themselves, the last the entire body of the people. It is the peculiar quality of John Major that he everywhere gives us the impression that he means what he says. Of rhetorical tricks he is as innocent as it is possible for mortal to be. In this account of the Church as he saw it in his own day, therefore, we have a testimony whose value cannot be gainsaid. “But now for many years we have seen shepherds whose only care it is to find pasture for themselves, men neglectful of the duties of religion, and all because, in the foundation of those institutions,¹ no heed was taken for their prudent regulation. Behold then here what may happen to religion from the possession of great wealth! By open flattery do the worthless sons of our nobility get the governance of convents *in commendam*—the wealth of these foundations is set before them like a mark before a poor bow-

¹ Major is speaking of the religious houses founded by David I.

man—and they covet these ample revenues, not for the good help that they thence might render to their brethren, but solely for the high position that these places offer, that they may have the direction of them, and out of them may have the chance to fill their own pockets. Like bats, by chink or cranny, when the daylight dies, they will enter the holy places to suck the oil from out the lamps, and under a wicked head all the members lead an evil life, according to the proverb, ‘When the head is sick, the other members are in pain.’ An abbot once grown wealthy has to find sustenance for a disorderly court of followers—an evil example to the religious; and not seldom, bidding farewell to the cloister, makes for the court, heedless of that wise saw, ‘As a fish out of water cannot live, so neither one of the religious outside the cloister;’ and if his body do indeed chance to be in the cloister, yet in the spirit of his mind and the manner of his life he is as one without.”¹

Hector Boece is at the opposite pole from Major as a writer. He is nothing if not a “stylist,” and from all his affirmations due abatement must be made for the rounding of his periods and the culling of his phrase. In the following passage, however, there is a precision and an accent of feeling which shows that he is expressing what lies upon his heart: “How cold is the zeal of this age compared with that [of James I.²]²—now, when in place of worthy and learned men, who were then diligently sought out from every part of the world, sluggards and miscreants possess themselves of the

¹ I have here used the admirable translation of Major made by Mr. Archibald Constable for the Scottish History Society. Major, *Hist. of Greater Britain*, pp. 136, 137.

² Yet we have seen that the age of James I. was not without its corruptions also.

rewards of the doctors to whom they rightly belong, in their unbounded ambition seizing civil and sacred offices alike, wasting and devouring the people, leaving nothing for the needs of the good and deserving ; nay, strenuously resisting the spread of all knowledge, lest, if the people should begin to know better things, their vices would be made public, and they would have to amend their ways and to surrender their booty.”¹ As the whole tenor of Boece’s writing proves, he was in all respects a faithful son of the Church. Such a passage as the above, therefore, written about the year 1526, is as strong a testimony as we could wish to the need of a baptism of fire.

Sir David Lyndsay, born in 1490, belongs to the generation succeeding that of Major and Boece. While their experience was that of the Church and the Schools, Lyndsay was a courtier and man of the world, who addressed the laity in their own tongue. As a personal force Lyndsay is second only to Knox in his influence on the religious development of his countrymen ; yet religion and theology were far from being the master-interests of his own life and thinking. It was with the Church in its social relations, not with its doctrinal teaching, that he was mainly concerned ; and it was as a patriot and a social reformer, and not as a theologian, that he ridiculed ecclesiastics and exposed the corruptions of the old religion. He was to Knox what Ulrich von Hutten was to Luther,² attacking religious abuses and Church interests from the conviction that they were working the social and political ruin of the country. Without formally breaking with

¹ *Scot. Hist. lib.* xvi. p. 342.

² It was in the interests of German patriotism that Strauss wrote his *Life of Hutten*, whom he regarded as the champion of German nationality.

the Church, by the whole tendency of his opinions he was identified with the cause of religious reform. It is sufficient proof of this that he approved the English rather than the French alliance, which, as he must have known, virtually implied the final victory of Luther over the Pope. It was, moreover, by the slenderest thread that he remained attached to the Church of Rome. No fervent Catholic in Lyndsay's day could have mentioned Luther and Calvin as he has done without branding them as the adversaries of God and man. On points of doctrine his writings from first to last show a hardness of statement which constantly brings him within the scope of the statutes against heretics. That he escaped the fate of so many others was matter of wonder to his own contemporaries. Lyndsay was himself well aware of the risk that he ran, and had his own methods of guarding against the consequences of his satire. By attacking the *Three Estates* indiscriminately he veiled what was his main object—the exposure of the corruptions of the Church. He disarmed censure, also, by his cautious reserve that he speaks

in generall
For pastyme and for play.¹

But Lyndsay's immunity from persecution is best explained by the fact that, like Rabelais, who wrote with a similar object and under similar risks, he studiously disguised the seriousness of his intentions under the mask of the licensed jester. Mingling satire and gross buffoonery in the fashion he did, it was impossible to take him altogether seriously; and it is to be remembered that in its Mystery Plays the Church itself had admitted the maddest profanity and the wildest licence

¹ Laing's *Lyndsay*, ii. 13.

of statement regarding its most sacred mysteries. The Interlude of Folly in the satire of the *Three Estates* immediately following one of the deadliest attacks on the Church in all Lyndsay's poems, reveals a deliberate intention on the part of the writer. After the brutal humour of that scene the most determined Inquisitioner could hardly take its author seriously without making himself ridiculous.

While Lyndsay was thus such a formidable adversary of the ancient Church, his work was of another order from that of Knox. By his unflinching common sense Lyndsay pointed the contrast between the lives of the clergy and their profession, and helped to create a public opinion which eventually made the people a force in the development of the country. But it was no part of his mission to supply a new principle which might be an adequate substitute for that on which the religious life of the nation had hitherto been based. To supply such a principle was the distinctive work of Knox, and it is by the success with which he did this work that he holds his unique place in the consciousness of his country.

In what has been said, the weakness of the Church and the strength of its adversaries has been specially before us ; but it is to be remembered that at the date when Knox's public life began the Church was still a great institution, with its roots in the heart of Christendom and, in the opinion of the great majority of Scotsmen, an indissoluble part of the national life. At the moment when we take up Knox's history the full force of the executive was behind it, and to all appearance had every external advantage on its side. Moreover, in the Protestant movement itself there were sources of weakness which every year made clearer,

and which eventually checked its further triumph at the expense of the Roman Church. In the famous letter in which Calvin dedicated his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* to Francis I. (1536), he states with his usual precision the main objections generally raised against the new teaching.¹ In the first place the gospel of the Protestants was new, a fatal objection to a religion that professed to be of God; it was doubtful and uncertain, confirmed by no miracles as the true religion should be; it was opposed to the teachings of the Fathers and the traditions of all the past centuries; and its preachers were undoubtedly schismatics who made deliberate war on the true Church. When the Protestant teaching was judged by its fruits, it was clearly seen to what issues it must lead. In its multitude of sects, in the strife and confusion that had everywhere attended it, men had the judgment of God on the true character of the doctrines of Luther. It was in the indisputable truth of the last two accusations that the Church of Rome had its strongest case against the Protestant Reformers. By the date we have now reached, the divisions of the Protestants had already become a scandal, and their theologians were attacking each other with all the asperity of family feud. In the civil confusions which of necessity attended all schism from the papacy, the Church found the strongest argument to insure the support of princes who trembled for the safety of their thrones. Wherever heresy had obtained a foothold the same consequences had followed. In the previous century Lollardism had been the fruitful cause of political discontent in England, and from the preaching of John Huss had sprung the horrors

¹ *Joannis Calvini Institutio Christianae Religionis*, i. 6 (edit. Tholuck).

of the twenty years' war in Bohemia. Had there been no Luther, there would have been no John of Leyden, no Anabaptist frenzy, and no Peasants' War. As heresy spread, therefore, what could be looked for but the dissolution of all society, and the final triumph of the Turk,¹ who would now complete his victory over what remained of the Church of Christ?

¹ Dread of the Turk preoccupied Western Europe during the first half of the sixteenth century. Michelet has brought out this haunting terror with great force.—“Histoire de France,” *Rénaissance, Réforme*.

CHAPTER IV

KNOX AND GEORGE WISHART

1540-1546

FOLLOWING Beza, certain early biographers¹ of Knox have asserted that before 1540 he was already disposed to question many of the doctrines of the ancient Church. By reading Jerome and Augustine, these writers said, he came to think that the truth lay with Luther and Calvin rather than with the Church as it then existed. But Beza's account of Knox, however interesting, is of little authority for the facts of his life. Had Knox formed definite opinions on the questions at issue between the two religions, we may safely conclude that his zeal would soon have brought him into collision with the authorities. As we have seen, between 1530 and 1540 heresy was sought out with an eagerness that came of a genuine alarm for the very existence of the Church. In his history of the growth of the new opinions in Scotland, Knox has minutely chronicled the names and fate of every one known to him who had raised his voice for a reformation of religion. Had he been able to add his own name to the list of those who

¹ Beza, *Icones*; Verheiden, *Praestantium aliquot Theologorum, qui Rom. Antichristum praecipue oppugnarunt Effigies*; Melchior Adam, *Vitae Theologorum exterorum*, pp. 137-142 (Frankfurt, 1653); Bayle, *Dictionary*.

had in any way testified to the good cause, he would not have omitted to emphasise his claim.

But the discovery of four documents, made within recent years,¹ has proved that till at least as late as March 1543 Knox was actually in orders in the Church of Rome. From these documents we also gather what must have been the general course of his life after leaving the University of Glasgow. In the first, an extract from the Protocol Book of Alexander Symson, Elder, "Sir Jhone Knox" is represented as appearing at the market-cross of Haddington, 13th December 1540, on behalf of James Ker of Samuelston. In the second he appears as "Sir Jo. Knox" in a case before the Burgh Court of Haddington, 21st November 1542. The third is a notarial instrument, drafted by Knox himself, dated 27th March 1543, and bearing the signature "Joannes Knox sacri altaris minister Sanctiandree dioceseos auctoritate apostolica notarius." In the last, an extract from the Protocol Book of Alexander Symson, Younger, "Sir Jo. Knox" is named as a witness to a deed concerning Ramylton Law, in the parish of Gordon, Berwickshire.

From these incidental notices we may deduce certain interesting facts regarding Knox's life before he finally broke with the Church of Rome. On leaving the University it would appear that he returned to his native district, and that at least from 1540 to 1543 he probably resided with the Kers of Samuelston, in the immediate neighbourhood of Haddington.² The designation "Sir" John Knox proves that he was in

¹ These documents were first published by David Laing in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* for 1862. A facsimile of the third document mentioned above appears in *The Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, by Sir William Fraser, K.C.B., LL.D.

² Samuelston is about three miles to the south-west of Haddington.

priest's orders, but that he had only taken the diploma of Bachelor of Arts, and not the higher grade of Master.¹ In the last of the documents above mentioned Samuelston is named as the place where it was witnessed, and Knox is described as "Master" to William Brounefield, son of Stephen Brounefield of Greenlaw. At Samuelston, therefore, Knox would appear to have acted as tutor to certain lads, who came to him from some distance to be taught under the same roof—an inference corroborated by the fact that when he first comes clearly before us he had charge of the sons of certain gentlemen of East Lothian.² As there was a small chapel at Samuelston, it is natural to suppose that, as was common in that day in Scotland as elsewhere, he combined the duties of chaplain and instructor of youth.

As also appears from these documents, Knox held the office of Apostolical Notary in the diocese of St. Andrews—a testimony, be it said, at once to his character and practical ability. The office of notary varied in dignity in different parts of Christendom;³ but everywhere the important trusts committed to them required that they should be men of intelligence, education, and probity. By the law of the Church, no cleric was allowed to hold the office; but, as educated laymen were rare during the Middle Ages, the law was systematically broken, and, as often as not, notaries were persons in holy orders.⁴ The office could not be

¹ This point is discussed at length by David Laing in his edition of Knox's *Works*, vol. i. Appendix XIV. See also Jamieson's *Dictionary*, *sub voce* Pope's Knights.

² *Works*, i. 139.

³ Ferraris, *Prompta Bibliotheca canonica, juridica, moralia, theologica*, etc., Art. *Notarius* (1863-66, Paris).

⁴ *Notariatus Ars*, fol. 2 (Frankfurt, 1539).

assumed before the age of twenty-five—the canonical age for priest's orders in the Church of Rome. Notaries were appointed by the Pope, the Emperor, and the King, as also by bishops, and even by the higher nobility—the notary in each case being limited in the exercise of his office to the territory of the dignitary who appointed him.¹ By an Act of the Parliament of Scotland in 1469 it was declared that notaries should be appointed by the King and not by the Emperor; but it was added that “they shall be examined before their ordinaries and bishops, and shall have from them a certificate of their faith, good fame, science and ability, or fitness for office.” After their appointment, notaries were still immediately responsible to the bishops in whose diocese they exercised their profession. An Act of 1503 declared “that all bishops and ordinaries call before them the notaries within their dioceses, and make them to be examined upon demeanour and fame, and deprive and punish the culpable according to their demerit.” It appears that there was urgent reason for the most stringent inquiry into the character and antecedents of notaries. Thus, towards the year 1540 it was observed that “for covering fraud and falsehood, and to hinder the villainy to be discovered, the false notaries did vary their natural sign and subscription.”² In the case of Knox, either James Beaton, who held the see of St. Andrews from 1522 till 1539, or David Beaton, who succeeded

¹ *Ibid.* fol. 2.

² Knox's signature to the notarial document is preceded by the expression *Non falsum testimonium perhibeto*. But this was probably a stereotyped phrase.—As showing the relative importance of the office of Notary Public, it may be stated that on the occasion of Edward IV.'s invasion of France, the Doctor of Laws who accompanied him received 2s. per day, a notary public 12d., the king's physician 2s., and his two assistants 6d.—Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 848.

him, must have been the bishop under whom he held his office of notary, though this does not imply that he ever exchanged a word with either of them. But the important inference to be drawn from Knox's tenure of this office is that he was presumably of good repute in the Church till the day when he left it.

From March 1543 Knox is again lost sight of till the close of December 1546; but thenceforward we have all the knowledge of him necessary to an adequate estimate both of himself and the work to which he gave his life. It was through his contact with George Wishart that Knox first came to a clear consciousness of that burden which he was to bear to his countrymen with the zeal and the temper of the prophets of Israel.¹ As early as 1538 Wishart had fled from Scotland to escape punishment for heresy, and after a residence in England, Germany, and Switzerland,² had returned to Scotland in 1544 or 1545³ with convictions in religion which left the Church no choice but to deal with him as its unflinching adversary. Coming to Scotland at the time he did, he could hardly have escaped the fate that overtook him. But to make this clear a brief sketch must be given of the course of affairs in Scotland from the death of James V. in 1542 till the date when Knox first took his place on the side of the revolution. Knox was not as yet a force in the country; but the work which he was afterwards to perform cannot be understood without a clear apprehension of the

¹ As we shall see, Jeremiah was the one among these prophets whom he admired most.

² All the facts known regarding Wishart have been brought together by David Laing in Appendix IX. to vol. i., and in his Additional Notes and Corrections to vol. vi. of his *Knox*.

³ The precise date cannot be determined, Knox's own statements being somewhat contradictory.

drift of events in Scotland from at least as early as 1542.

During the last years of James V. the Roman clergy, headed by Cardinal Beaton, were the virtual masters of the nation. The question of the day for Scotland was the choice between the French and the English alliance, since, according as that choice was made, she must either eventually abide by Rome or declare for the new religion. It was matter of life and death to the clergy, therefore, that Scotland should hold fast to the old alliance with France. Backed by the feeling of the country, they carried James with them; but the result of their counsels was the disaster of Solway Moss, which broke the heart of the king by its tragic lesson that he had ceased to be master of his people. The triumph at Solway Moss gave England a temporary advantage, which Henry VIII. was not slow to follow up. The Earl of Arran, "the most fervent Protestand that was in Europa,"¹ was appointed to the Regency in spite of Beaton's unscrupulous efforts to supplant him.² Beaton was thrown into prison; negotiations were rapidly carried on for the marriage of Henry's son Edward and the infant queen Mary, and everything seemed in train for English ascendancy in Scotland. But as the nation recovered from the immediate results of Solway Moss, the old instincts once more prevailed. In the conditions Henry laid down for the marriage, the Scots saw their independence again menaced by their ancient enemy. Beaton, who had always the support of

¹ Knox, *Works*, i. 101.

² It has been proved that Beaton forged an instrument according to which he would have been the first man in the country. See *The Manuscripts of the Duke of Hamilton* (Hist. Man. Com.), edited by Sir William Fraser, pp. 205-220.

France behind him, skilfully made use of the national feeling against England; and within a year things were precisely as they had been before the death of the late king—the clergy in the interests of France and the old religion once more the masters of the country. On the 22nd March 1542 Arran had been chosen Regent. In the following month the party in favour of England and religious reform was so strong that an Act of Parliament was passed (March 1543) permitting the general use of the Bible in the vulgar tongue. In June the English Alliance was sanctioned in the Scottish Parliament, and on the 25th August it was solemnly ratified by the Regent in the Abbey Church of Holyrood. Within nine days Arran was in the hands of Beaton; and in the Franciscan Monastery of Stirling publicly renounced Protestantism, and received absolution for past errors.¹

The events that followed this revolution mark the ruling policy in the country at the date of Wishart's mission in Scotland and Knox's first appearance in public life. In December 1543 an Act of Parliament was passed for the summary dealing with heretics, the Regent himself being the chief agent in compassing it. In January 1544 Arran and Beaton made a visit in company to Perth for the special purpose of carrying out the last sentence of the law on a number of persons who defied the Church.² The merciless invasions of Hertford in 1544-45 were Henry VIII.'s revenge for the rejection of his proposals of alliance, and the evidence of his alarm that Scotland should once more have fallen into the hands of France. The

¹ Letter of Arran to the Pope, 10th May; Theiner, *Monumenta*, p. 614.

² Knox, *Works*, i. 117; Treasurer's *Accounts*; Mercer, *Chronicle of Perth*.

arrival from France of De Lorge Montgomerie with a force of 4500 men completed the French domination in Scotland, and made Beaton virtually master of the country.

It would seem, therefore, that returning to Scotland at the time when he did, Wishart took his life in his hand with a prospect that hardly justified the risk which he ran. But though the triumph of Beaton was apparently so complete, forces were now at work which made his task one with which a man of his type was unequal to cope. Subtle diplomatist as he was, he could never acquire that ascendancy over the minds of his countrymen which can only come of a character and career manifestly moving towards ideal ends. He strenuously worked in the interests of the Church, but the grossness of his pleasures and his unbounded personal ambition were too obtrusive to allow him a place in the affection and esteem of the people. At a time, therefore, when every virtue was needed to hold the nation faithful to the Church of its fathers, Beaton was the last man of his order to whom the task should have fallen. In truth, Protestantism and the English alliance now found such support in Scotland that Wishart's return was not so foolhardy as it might seem. An active minority of the nobles and gentry saw in the government of Beaton not only their own personal ruin, but the giving away of the country to a power more dangerous to its liberties than England itself.¹ As Beaton and his party were in the pay of France, so the English party were in the pay of Henry VIII. With those who favoured England

¹ During the regency of Mary of Lorraine it was proved that France was as dangerous an enemy to the liberties of Scotland as England could have been.

were naturally associated those who desired a reformation of religion, a body now so numerous, in the opinion of a papal legate who visited the country in 1543, that, but for the interposition of God, Scotland would soon be in as bad a case as England itself.¹ Though Beaton ruled the country, therefore, Wishart could count on those whose interest it was to stand by him, and he was sure that his message would not be unwelcome to many sections of the people.

We have two graphic pictures of Wishart; one by Knox himself, the other by a scholar of Wishart's at Cambridge, Emery Tylney.² Both accounts are from the hands of friends and admirers, but each was also written in ignorance of the other. In the enthusiasm with which both Knox and Tylney speak of him we have at least a conclusive tribute to the attractive force of Wishart's personality. According to Tylney he was "courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn"; according to Knox, he was "a man of such graces as befor him war never hard within this realme, yea, and ar rare to be found yit in any man, nochtwithstanding this great lyght of God that sence his dayis hes schyned unto us."³ In Knox's account of Wishart there is nothing inconsistent with Tylney's; yet as he appears to us in Knox's narrative of his last days, we find traits in his character which justify the conclusion that he belonged to essentially the same type of religious reformer as Knox himself.⁴ In a

¹ *Mary Stuart: A Narrative of the First Eighteen Years of her Life*, by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, S.J. (p. 51).

² Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ii. 1267-68, edit. 1583.

³ *Works*, i. 125.

⁴ The sterner side of Wishart's character is suggested even in Tylney's account of him. "Hee taught with great modestie and gravitie, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slaine him."

passing phrase Knox describes him as “most scharpe of eie and judgement,” a description peculiarly applicable to Knox himself, as every page of his history shows. The strength of Wishart, like the strength of Knox, seems to have lain in his popular speech and practical talent, combined with an unquestioning belief in his consecration to a superhuman mission. Though his senior by eight or nine years,¹ Knox owed to Wishart every debt that one teacher can owe to another. In the minuteness with which he records the words and deeds of Wishart during his last days, we have all the love and reverence of the disciple for his master ; but the conclusive proof of Knox’s debt to his forerunner is the fact, that his own subsequent career leaves us with precisely the same impression as the picture he has drawn of Wishart—a character of natural tenderness and timidity, conjoined with a narrow intensity which overbore all selfish promptings no less than the rights of others, under the domination of one supreme idea.

In December 1546 Wishart came to East Lothian on the invitation of certain gentlemen favourable to his religious views, and who were also deeply pledged to the interests of England.² At this period Knox was living at Longniddry House in the capacity of tutor to the two sons of Hugh Douglas and the eldest son of the Laird of Ormiston.³ From the time that Wishart came to the district, Knox attended him from place to place in his preaching journeys. At Longniddry, where the preacher also came, Knox would have the opportunity of profiting by his private counsels as well as by his public ministration. But

¹ Wishart was probably born about 1513.—Laing’s *Knox*, i. 535.

² Knox, *Works*, i. 136.

³ *Ibid.* i. 139.

in coming to Lothian, and thus publicly preaching doctrines other than those of the Church of Rome, Wishart ran a risk of which he was himself well aware. It was not only that he taught heresy, but the men who were his protectors were themselves obnoxious to Beaton as the open friends of England. Beaton himself was probably unaware of the extent to which they had pledged themselves, but we now know that Crichton of Brunstone, Cockburn of Ormiston, Sandilands of Cadder, and Douglas of Longniddry, all the friends of Wishart, were in close communication with the English Government, and that one of them, the Laird of Brunstone, had even been a leading agent in a plot for the murder of the Cardinal.¹ How far Wishart may have been implicated in the schemes of these men is uncertain;² but what is important to note is, that from the beginning of his public career Knox was equally at the centre of the political and the religious movement which eventuated in the final triumph of Protestantism in Scotland. The darker

¹ *State Papers*, Henry VIII.—Tytler, *Hist. of Scot.* v. 334 *et seq.* (1842).

² It is more uncertain than ever that George Wishart the martyr was the "Scottishman, called Wyshert," who acted as agent of the Laird of Brunstone in his proposals to the Earl of Hertford for the murder of Beaton. It appears that there was another George Wishart, also of the house of Pitarro, whose character and career admirably suited the part required of a political go-between.—*Old Dundee*, pp. 91 *et seq.*, by Alexander Maxwell, F.S.A., Scot. A curious parallel case may here be mentioned. In his *Life of Ruddiman* (p. 307) George Chalmers quotes the following extract from the State Paper Office, of date 22nd April 1590: "Twa men, the ane namyt Johnne Gibsoun, Scottishman, preacher, and the other Johnne Willokis, descendit of Scottish progenitors, now baith lying in prison at Leycester, were convicted by a jury of robbery." Chalmers not unnaturally concluded that this *Willokis* was the noted Scottish reformer of that name. In the Parish Register of Loughborough, however, there is the following entry: "Master John Willocke, preacher and parson of this parish church of Loughborough, departed this life the 4th day of December, and was buried the 5th, being Sunday, in the year of God 1585."—Nichols, *Hist. and Antiq. of Leicestershire*, vol. iii. Part II. pp. 892-900.

schemes of the politicians were kept hid from him ; but to the last his enthusiasm, his sagacity, his place in the popular esteem, made him a force with which the Protestant lords had to reckon in all their counsels.

As Wishart had anticipated, Beaton was not slow to seize his opportunity. About the middle of January 1546 Wishart preached a series of sermons in Haddington to audiences which showed that the town had little sympathy with the new teaching.¹ On the night of his third day's visit, with the gloomy forebodings of himself and his friends, he set out for the house of Cockburn of Ormiston, a few miles from the town of Haddington. Knox, who had been with him throughout the day, was eager to accompany him and share his danger. To this Wishart would not listen. "Nay," he said, "returne to your barnes (pupils), and God blisse you. One is sufficient for one sacrifice." It was at such peril that Wishart had carried on his mission, that a two-handed sword was always borne beside him, and on this occasion it was Knox to whom it had been entrusted. At Wishart's request he reluctantly gave up the weapon, and they parted never to meet again. Knox returned to his pupils at Longniddry,² and Wishart proceeded to Ormiston House, where he was seized the same night by the combined action of Beaton and the Regent Arran.³

By the law of the country Wishart had incurred the penalty of death, and rather more than a month after his seizure, 1st of March, he was publicly burned at St. Andrews in front of the castle, the official residence of Beaton. The burning of Wishart was a blunder

¹ *Works*, i. 136, 137.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* p. 142; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 41 (Ban. Club); Treasurer's *Accounts of Scotland*, 10th March 1546.

in the Church's own interests, for in a country where law was held so light as in Scotland, it afforded at once the occasion and the excuse for the murder, two months later, of Beaton himself.¹ In spite of all his faults, Beaton had been the one man who could hold his own against the fierce spirits who were opposed to him, though the wonder is that they suffered him to escape so long. As Scottish history shows, assassination was in the last resort deemed a perfectly legitimate method of ridding the country of a public enemy, and it was doubtless only the sanctity of his office that held his enemies' hands from earlier vengeance. But in slaying Beaton, a cardinal of the Church and the most powerful man in the State, his murderers let the world know that revolution was not to be stayed by forms of law which in their estimation no longer expressed the highest consciousness of the country.

¹ Knox's narrative brings clearly before us the various motives at work in the murder of Beaton. They were at once religious, political, and personal.

CHAPTER V

THE CASTLE OF ST. ANDREWS

1547-1548

ON parting with Wishart, Knox as we have seen returned to his pupils at Longniddry. But after the murder of Beaton more diligent search than ever was made after those disaffected to the Church ; and Knox, by his association with the lairds of Longniddry and Ormiston, and his public appearances by the side of Wishart, could hardly have escaped notice. According to his own account, it was the successor of Beaton in the see of St. Andrews, John Hamilton, brother of the Regent, who specially sought to lay hands upon him.¹ Only by constant change of residence did he escape the fate that had overtaken Wishart. Weary of this unsettled life, he had serious thoughts of visiting the schools of Germany,² where, as he then thought, religion was to be seen in its purest form. In view of his subsequent sympathies, it is noteworthy that at this period he should have thought of Germany rather than Switzerland as the true spiritual kingdom on earth. Luther had died in 1546, and Calvin's republic was already established in Geneva,³ so that

¹ *Works*, i. 185. Hamilton was Knox's bishop, so that it was his duty to look after his heretical priest.

² *Ibid.*

³ Though not as yet in its absolute form.

if the Swiss reformer had already attracted him, Geneva would have been his natural home. However this may be, Knox's few casual references to Luther at a later date prove that he regarded that reformer as having but partially received the truth, and that to him, as to Latimer, the German reformation was a "mingle-mangle" and a "hotch-potch."¹

But Knox's intention of leaving the country was opposed by the fathers of his pupils, who were unwilling that their sons should lose his services. At their request he took refuge in the Castle of St. Andrews, where the murderers of Beaton and such as were in danger from the Government were now besieged by the forces of the Regent Arran. Knox took the three lads with him, and continued his instruction in the midst of the extraordinary company in which he now found himself. He has told us in what this instruction consisted. "Besydis thare grammare, and other humane authoris, he redd unto thame a catechisme, a compt whairof he caused thame geve publictlie in the parishe Kirk of Sanctandrois. He redd moreover unto thame the Evangell of Johnne, proceeding where he left at his departing from Langnudrye, where befor his residence was; and that lecture he redd in the chapell, within the castell, at a certane hour."² As we shall hear no more of these pupils of Knox, it may be said in passing that one of them, Alexander Cockburn, grew into a man of virtue and accomplishments, and dying at the age

¹ It will afterwards be shown that at this period Knox was in reality nearer to Luther than to Calvin. At a later date he considered *Lutheran* a term of reproach as applied to himself (*Works*, iv. 310). The German reformation, by its compromises with the ancient Church, was, in truth, a stumbling-block equally to Scottish, English, and Swiss reformers.

² *Works*, i. 186.

of twenty-eight, was celebrated in two beautiful poems of Buchanan, which recount in tones of genuine feeling the loss which their common country had sustained in his early death.¹

When their numbers were greatest, the company assembled in the Castle of St. Andrews amounted to one hundred and fifty persons,² and a stranger assortment must seldom have been brought together in one place. The murderers of Beaton were there, Norman Leslie, young Kirkcaldy of Grange, Melville of Carnbee, "a man of nature most gentill and most modest,"³ and the rest. To call these men murderers in the sense in which we now use the word is of course absurd; and extraordinary as it may seem, there is no inherent incongruity in a Scottish gentleman of that period being "gentle and modest," and yet taking his part in slaying in cold blood an enemy who had insulted him, and whom he could not otherwise reach. The subsequent careers of Leslie and Kirkcaldy prove that their atrocious act debarred them from none of the privileges of their class, since even in Catholic France these two murderers of a cardinal received military command in which they distinguished themselves with the bravest.⁴ While feudal honour and feudal brutality were thus blended in such men as Leslie and Grange, among the inmates of the castle were found the equally strange commixture of un-

¹ *Epigram*. lib. ii. 26; *Miscell.* xii. The first of these two poems is engraved on a mural brass in the aisle of the old church at Ormiston Hall.

² Keith states that about one hundred and forty persons entered the castle immediately after the murder of Beaton.—*Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, i. 124 (Spottiswoode Society).

³ Knox, *Works*, i. 177.

⁴ James Grant, *Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange* (1849). This book gives a lively, though not very accurate, account of that gallant soldier.

bridled vice and earnest religious feeling. Knox has himself told us in one page that the "corrupt lyef" of those in the castle "could nott eschape punishment of God"; and in another that "not onlye all those of the Castell, but also a great number of the toune, openlie professed, by participatioun of the Lordis Table, in the same puritie that now it is ministrat in the churches of Scotland."¹ We may be certain that with Knox's knowledge and Knox's consent those of "corrupt lyef" were not of those admitted to the Lord's Table. But the point to be seized is that it was in such an atmosphere and with such materials that men whose religious sincerity was unquestionable had then to work. It is only by remembering this that we can explain the pious ferocity of Knox when he calls the murder of Beaton a "godly fact."² Not even a saint can rise wholly superior to the spirit of his age. St. Bernard believed that in slaying a Turk a soldier was the avenger of Christ,³ and Fénelon, the gentlest of spirits, approved the Dragonnades. Where these men differed from their fellows was in the fact that their whole being was absorbed in a cause which in its totality ennobled the purpose of their life.

It was at Easter of 1547, ten months after the murder of Beaton, that Knox entered the castle.⁴ From August till December of the preceding year

¹ *Works*, i. 204, 201. From this passage we gather that on the question of the Eucharist Knox had already adopted the Genevan view.

² *Ibid.* i. 177, marginal note. To appreciate the precise significance of Knox's comment, one should place beside it Queen Mary's deliberately expressed approval of the assassination of her brother the Regent Moray: "Ce que Bothwellhach a faict, a esté sans mon commandement, de quoi je lui sçay aussi bon gré et meilleur, que si j'eusse esté du conseil" (Labanoff, iii. 354). In the case of both Knox and Mary the century entered into their words as much as the individual.

³ Cotter Morison, *The Life and Times of St. Bernard*, p. 160.

⁴ *Works*, i. 185.

it had been ineffectually besieged by Arran, who saw himself at last forced to come to a temporary arrangement with the rebels. This "appointment," made on the 17th December, neither side had any intention of keeping,¹ as the Regent looked for help from France and those in the castle from England. When Knox joined the besieged, therefore, there was no active hostility, and there was free intercourse between the castle and the town. He had not been long in his new quarters, however, before he made his presence felt, and showed that Wishart's teaching and example had made clear to him the true mission of his life.

It has been said that after his arrival in St. Andrews Knox read the Gospel of St. John in the chapel of the castle. It would appear that he accompanied his reading with a commentary on the text, as certain of those who heard him were so struck by his doctrine that they besought him to take upon himself the office of preacher.² There was already a preacher in the castle, John Rough, who afterwards proved the sincerity of his faith in the flames at Smithfield. According to Knox the doctrine of Rough was "without corruption," and he was "weall lyiked of the people"; but he "was nott the most learned,"³ and the theologians of the University had long troubled him. As Knox had been Rough's efficient ally in his difficulties with these theologians, it was Rough's special request that Knox should publicly take his place by his side. But Knox had scruples in taking upon himself an office which, in his view of the tremendous import of religion, was charged with responsibilities the most serious that could fall to a sinful mortal. At first, he tells us, he utterly refused, alleging "that he wold nott ryne where

¹ Keith, i. 127.

² *Works*, i. 186.

³ *Ibid.* p. 184.

God had nott called him.”¹ But in the circumstances of those in the castle the services of a man like Knox could not be dispensed with. After a special sermon on the election of ministers, Rough, in the name of all those present, made a public appeal to Knox to respond to the call that had been made upon him. Overcome by this appeal, Knox, “abashed, byrst furth in moist abundand tearis, and withdrew himself to his chalmer.”² This was the only consecration to his office that Knox ever received, and in his account of the whole proceedings he shows his eagerness to let it be understood that it was out of no vainglory of his own, but under pressure from men whom he respected that he reluctantly yielded to their appeal. Besides John Rough, Knox specially names Henry Balnaves and Sir David Lyndsay among those by whose counsel the charge had been thrust upon him.³ Of Balnaves we shall presently hear more, and we shall see that his support of Knox was the outcome of a definite religious creed of his own. But that Lyndsay should have taken the part he did in Knox’s election is a fact that deserves to be specially emphasised. Lyndsay’s precise position towards the ancient Church is difficult to define; but in the fact now before us we have evidence nearly as complete as we could wish that in his heart he was entirely with the new teachers. In giving his countenance to Knox he could not but be aware that he was lending himself to a cause which had for its central aim the end of the papal power in Scotland. That we find Lyndsay in this connection at all throws a curious light on the standard of public opinion at the time in Scotland. He was not an inmate of the castle; but it is all the more significant that he, as typical a represen-

¹ *Works*, i. 186.² *Ibid.* i. 188.³ *Ibid.* p. 186.

tative as we could wish of a patriotic Scot—shrewd, genial, and devoid of all fanaticism—should thus publicly have identified himself with men whom we should now stigmatise as rebels and assassins. There could not be a better illustration of the saying of the Abbé Galiani: “One century may judge another century; but only his own century may judge the individual.”

From the day that Knox was set apart as a preacher of the new faith his life was a ceaseless battle with what he deemed the powers of darkness. On the Sunday following his election he threw down his challenge to the champions of the old religion. Preaching before the members of the University and the leading ecclesiastics of the town,¹ he identified the Church of Rome with the Man of Sin, with Antichrist, and the whore of Babylon, “dissiphering,” by the way, “the lyves of diverse Papes,” and “handilling the notes” by which the true Church may be discerned from the false.² This was the first sermon that Knox ever preached, and the comments to which it gave rise proved that his friends in the castle had not misjudged their man. “Some said, ‘Otheris sned (hewed) the branches of the Papistrie, but he stryckis at the roote to destroy the hole.’ Otheris said, ‘Yf the doctouris and *Magistri nostri* defend nott now the Pape and his authoritie, which in thare awin presence is so manifestlie impugned, the Devill have my part of him, and of his lawes boyth.’ Otheris said, ‘Maister George Wishart spak never so plainelye, and yitt he was brunt: evin so will he be.’ In the end, otheris said, ‘The

¹ *Works*, i. 192. Knox specially notes that his old master, John Major, was present on this occasion.

² *Ibid.* pp. 190, 191.

tyranny of the Cardinall maid nott his cause the bettir, nether yitt the suffering of Goddis servand maid his cause the worse. And thairfore we wold counsall you and thame to provide bettir defenses then fyre and sward; for it may be that ellis ye wilbe disapointed: men now have other eyes then thei had than.'"¹

A report of the sermon having come to the ears of Archbishop Hamilton, he wrote to John Wynram, sub-prior of the monastery of St. Andrews, expressing his wonder that he should have allowed such doctrine to be preached, and calling on him to take steps to prevent its repetition.² Wynram does not seem to have had the nerve of a disputant; but something had to be done to satisfy his superior.³ Nine heretical propositions, extracted from the utterances of Rough and Knox, were accordingly drawn up, and before a convention of Dominicans and Franciscans in the yards of St. Leonard's College the two preachers were successively summoned to justify or exculpate themselves. Knox did not even put himself on his defence; but at once called on any person present to prove that any one of the nine articles was inconsistent with "the truth of God." Wynram himself took up the challenge; but he soon had enough of Knox's dialectics, and called on a Franciscan friar to carry on the dispute. We have only Knox's account of the disputation that followed; but the fairness of his report may be judged by the fact that in other public controversies which he has recorded he had by no means always the best of the argument. The friar, it would seem, fairly lost his wits, and to the dismay of his fellows, was driven to the

¹ *Works*, i. 192.

² *Ibid.* p. 193.

³ Wynram was perhaps only half-hearted in his opposition to Knox. At least, he subsequently joined the Protestant party, and even held the office of superintendent.

astounding statement, as heretical as any of Knox's own, "that the Apostles had not receaved the Holy Ghost when thei did wryte thare Epistles ; but, after, thei receaved him, and then thei did ordeyn the ceremonies."¹

Unable to put him down by argument, Knox's opponents fell on another plan to silence him. Arrangements were made by which preachers from the Abbey and the University should occupy the pulpit of the parish church on successive Sundays. By this means it was thought that Knox would have no opportunity of disseminating heresy beyond the walls of the castle. But Knox was not the man to be silenced by so transparent an artifice. Debarred from preaching on Sundays, he spoke on week-days with such effect "that not onlye those of the Castell, but also a great number of the toune, openlie professed." Thus Balnaves, Sir David Lyndsay, and the rest had been justified in their choice of a champion, and Knox showed himself from the first to be the man the Protestants needed to concentrate their forces, and possess them with a zeal that would insure their final triumph. But, in the meantime, events now happened that were effectually to close his activity for a season.

¹ *Works*, i. 199.

CHAPTER VI

KNOX IN THE GALLEYS

1547-1549

By the "Appointment" of December between the Castilians, as the besieged were called, and the Regent Arran, a cessation of hostilities was arranged till absolution was obtained from Rome for the murder of the cardinal. Towards the end of June 1547 the absolution arrived; but in an equivocal expression it contained—*remittimus irremissibile*—the Castilians saw a snare into which they were not disposed to run with their eyes open.¹ The truth is, that there was such profound distrust on either side that the struggle could only be settled by the definitive triumph of one party or the other. Since the Appointment the besieged had been in direct communication with England, and had actually received assistance in money and provisions, with the promise of effectual armed support.² On his side, Arran trusted to the help of France to put the fortress in his hands, which with all his efforts he was unable to take for himself. As it happened, his allies were the first to lend him effectual aid. On the last day of June, Leo Strozzi,

¹ *Works*, i. 203.

² *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 43; Chalmers, *Life of Queen Mary*, iii. 342; Rymer, *Fœdera*, xv. 133, 144.

Prior of Capua, despatched by Henry II. of France, appeared before St. Andrews with a fleet of twenty-one galleys.¹

The besieged now found that they had a very different enemy to deal with from the ill-trained, half-hearted forces of the Regent. Closely beset by sea and land, they could no longer count on supplies from England. The plague also broke out in their midst, and by Knox's own account, their manner of life was such as "could nott eschape punishment of God." Meanwhile the batteries played with deadly effect on the walls of the castle, and the promised aid from England never came. On the last day of July, a month after the appearance of the French fleet, the place was surrendered on the following terms, which Knox had such excellent reason to remember to the end of his life: "That the lyeffis of all within the castell should be saved, alsweall Engliss as Scottish; That thei should be saiflie transported to France; and in case that, upoun conditionis that by the King of France should be offerred unto thame, thei could nott be content to remane in service and fredome there, thei should, upoun the King of France expenssis, be saiflie conveyed to what contrey thei wold requyre, other then Scotland."²

¹ In the *Diurnal of Occurrents* the number of galleys is given as sixteen, and the date of their arrival as 24th June. But Knox had surely the best opportunity of knowing both facts.

² *Works*, i. 205.—Tytler, with some perversity, refuses to accept Knox's statement of these terms, and follows what he considers the higher authority of Anderson's MS. History, Leslie, and Buchanan. With regard to Leslie, his account of all the proceedings in connection with the affairs of the castle is so loose that his authority cannot count for much. As for Buchanan, Tytler has misunderstood the expression by which he partially supports his conclusion. Buchanan's phrase is "Leonti Strozio, incolumitatem modo pacti, se dederunt," which evidently confirms Knox. It may here be said that Knox in his *History*

In that age treaties were observed only in cases where neither party had the power to break them. On the 7th of August the French galleys, laden with the spoil which Beaton had collected in the castle, and with one hundred and twenty prisoners on board, sailed for the coast of Normandy.¹ Instead of being set at liberty, Knox and his companions were at once consigned to the galleys and to prisons in different parts of the country.² Among the former was Knox himself, and for nineteen months, which but for a fortunate accident might as well have been nineteen years, it was his fate to know a form of life which for unutterable horror is perhaps without a parallel in the history of humanity.

It was the specialty of France that it utilised heretics by converting them into galley-slaves. As late as the opening years of the eighteenth century the government of Louis XIV. sent the Huguenots in hundreds to the galleys. And if any form of torture could break men's spirits into playing false to their convictions, it may safely be said that one more effective could hardly be devised than the life of a slave in a French galley. The crew of one of these galleys amounted to about one hundred and fifty men, and the usual complement of slaves was about three hundred. From stem to stern ran a platform, known as the *coursier*, on which the officer and crew moved from one part of the vessel to the other. The benches

shows throughout a conscientious regard to accuracy of statement. Where he has to be taken with due reserves is in the expression of opinion. In the present case, there is every reason to believe that he has correctly reported the conditions offered by Strozzi. As for the immediate breach of the treaty, this need not surprise us in the sixteenth century. Montaigne (*Essais*, liv. i. chap. v.) brings very clearly before us the standard of international ethics in his day.

¹ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 44.

² *Works*, i. 206.

were fixed at right angles to the vessel's sides, and to these benches were chained from four to six slaves, who sat on them without change of posture by day, and slept under them by night, absolutely without shelter at all seasons of the year. The officer in charge of the slaves, known as the *comite*, moved along the *coursier* whip¹ in hand, applying it to the bare shoulders of every wretch who showed signs of lagging at his work. As may be imagined, special punishment was frequently needed in the case of fiercer spirits, goaded to madness by a daily torture that passed all human endurance. In these cases the slave was stretched, face downwards, on a plank, and simply flogged into insensibility. For reasons which may be readily imagined, none of the officers or crew dared venture into the slaves' quarters by night. In the seventeenth century, when things could not have been worse than in the sixteenth, the food of the slave was biscuit, and a kind of porridge made of oil and beans. Their dress was a shirt of the coarsest canvas, and a jerkin of serge, cut so as to leave free play for the arms in rowing. On land they were known by their coarse frock, little cap, and close-cropt hair. Beyond the physical horror of his surroundings, the character of his fellows in misery must have frozen the heart of the victim who had known the sanctities of life, and who was there for no other crime than the scrupulous interpretation of the leadings of his own mind and conscience. Chained to the same oar might be the thief and the murderer, or, as it would seem, often as not a Turk or a Moor,² from whose presence he could not escape for one hour out of the twenty-

¹ A stick was objected to, because it broke bones.

² The fatalism of the Mohammedans made them the most satisfactory galley-slaves, and they were usually placed at the end of the oar with control over their fellows.

four, throughout the years it was his fate to live a life so unspeakably worse than death.¹ As we shall see, in Knox's experiences as a galley-slave there must have been certain alleviating circumstances ; but after every abatement, these nineteen months which he thus spent must to the close of his life have been a memory like a nightmare upon his spirit. It is but once or twice in the whole of his writings that he refers to these months of shame and suffering ; but when he does make mention of them, it is in words that show how deeply the iron had gone into his soul. "How long," he says, in one passage, "how long I continewed prisoneir, what torment I susteained in the galaies, and what war the sobbes of my harte, is now no tyme to reecat."² Knox's detestation of French politics and French religion needed no extrinsic incentive ; but we may imagine that his feeling lost none of its keenness through his personal experiences of the tender mercies of the Most Christian King.

During the winter that followed the surrender of the Castle of St. Andrews, the galley in which Knox was a captive remained at the mouth of the Loire, by the town of Nantes. From his own incidental remarks we gather that he must have had as his companions several Scotsmen who had fallen into the

¹ The above details regarding the galleys are mainly taken from Stanley Lane-Poole's *Barbary Corsairs*, and from the following articles in magazines and reviews : "French Galleys in the Seventeenth Century," *Household Words*, vol. xvii. ; "Huguenots at the Galleys," *Quarterly Review* (1866) ; *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1885) ; *The Penny Magazine* (1845). John Aylmer (afterwards Bishop of London), in his *An Harborowe for Faithfull Subjects* (Strassburg, 1559, p. 2), thus refers in a passing sentence to the life of the galley-slave of his time : "My sones enheritance shalbe chaines in the gally, wherwith he shalbe fettered, a whippe upon his bare skinne, if he row not to the death, and an horse lofe and water for his dayly dyet." See also Stirling-Maxwell, *Don John of Austria*, i. 92 *et seq.*

² *Works*, i. 349.

hands of the French at the same time as himself.¹ Repeated attempts were made to bring all of them back to the true faith; but with Knox in their midst this task was not so easy as it might otherwise have been. Mass was said on stated occasions both in the galley and on shore, but the Scots would give none of the signs of true worshippers. On Saturday nights, when the *Salve Regina* was sung, to a man they deliberately covered their heads with their caps or hoods, or whatever else would serve the purpose. An incident in this connection is related by Knox, of which we cannot doubt that he was himself the hero. As the anecdote would lose half its point in any words but his own, we let him speak for himself: "Sone after the arrivall at Nances,² thare great *Salve* was song, and a glorious painted Lady was brought in to be kissed, and, amongis otheris, was presented to one of the Scottishmen then cheyned. He gentillye said, 'Truble me nott; such ane idole is accursed; and thairefor I will not tuich it.' The Patron and the Arguesyn, with two officeris, having the cheaf charge of all such materis, said, 'Thou salt handill it;' and so thei violentlie thrust it to his face, and putt it betuix his handis; who seing the extremitie, tooke the idole, and advisitlie looking about, he caist it in the rivare, and said, 'Lett our Lady now saif hir self: sche is lycht aneuch: lett hir learne to swyme.' After that was no Scottish man urged with that idolatrie." "These ar thingis," he adds, "that appear to be of no great importance; and yit yf we do rychtlye consider, thei expresse the same obedience that God requyred of his people Israell, when that their should be caryed to Babylon."³ It is in such passages as

¹ *Works*, i. 227.² Nantes.³ *Works*, i. 227, 228.

these that we see how completely Knox identifies his action with that of the Hebrew prophets, and among these prophets in special degree with the prophet of the Lamentations.

The life in the galleys must have been harder for Knox than for most of his fellows in misery. Naturally he was of a feeble constitution, and from a casual word of his own we gather that at one time he had all but succumbed to his privations. His spirit, however, remained unbroken, and by his words and example he cheered the hearts of his less fervid companions. From the first he had the confident hope that they should one day be delivered—a hope whose only ground was the unalterable conviction that he was a chosen instrument whom God would not put aside till His purpose was fulfilled. This fixed hope, and its subsequent fulfilment, he afterwards recalled with satisfaction as a proof of the divine sanction that consecrated his work. One day, he relates, on the second occasion that his galley visited the coast of Scotland, they were lying between St. Andrews and Dundee. He was at the time so broken in health that there seemed little hope that he would ever recover. Pointing towards the land, one of his companions at the oar, James Balfour, asked him if he recognised it. “Yes,” answered Knox, “I knaw it weall; for I see the stepill of that place whare God first in publict opened my mouth to his glorie, and I am fullie persuaded, how weak that ever I now appear, that I shall not departe this lyif till that my tounge shall glorifie his godlie name in the same place.” That Knox claimed for himself a certain measure of the gift of prophecy will appear from other instances besides the above. The claim, indeed, was almost

implied in that exaltation of feeling which was the source of his unwavering conviction in the divine origin of his message. To possess the gift in a certain degree was in Knox's day even regarded as the natural result of special services in the cause of the Church. Wishart laid claim to it, and Knox freely admits that the issue of his predictions fully justified his claim.¹ In the case of Savonarola the arrogation was so extreme, and made so integral a part of his work, that it betrayed a mind that had lost its healthy touch with the normal relations of life.² What enabled Knox to achieve the work he did was his combination of prophetic zeal with a practical sense that never ignored the realities of things.

While Knox thus renewed the hearts of his countrymen in the galleys, he was also in communication with others of them who had been consigned to different prisons in Normandy. Young Kirkcaldy of Grange, and three other Scotsmen, who were confined in the Benedictine Abbey of Mont St. Michel, grew weary of their imprisonment, and were desirous of making an effort to break their bonds. From a curious scruple in men who had lately been concerned in the murder of a cardinal, they wrote to Knox to inquire if "with safe conscience" they might make such an attempt. The reply was, that if they could effect their purpose without the shedding of blood they were perfectly within their right to do what lay in their power to escape from their enemies. He assured them that by some means or other there was not one of their number who should not eventually

¹ *Works*, i. 126, 133, 138.

² His "gift of prophecy had continually entangled Savonarola in a maze of sophistry through which it is extremely difficult to follow his steps."—Villari, *Life of Savonarola*, ii. 353 (English translation).

regain his liberty ; but with that shrewd sense which directed all his fervour, he recommended them to let no opportunity slip that God might offer to them. Grange and his comrades acted on his advice. On the eve of Epiphany, "when French men commonlie use to drynk liberallie," they found the opportunity they wanted. With the help of a boy belonging to the house, they seized and bound their keepers, and locked them in different apartments. Escaped from their prison, they parted company for the sake of greater security, and after various adventures all reached England in safety.¹

We have still further proof that a liberty must have been allowed to Knox which was not the lot of the ordinary galley-slave. Among the prisoners taken at St. Andrews was that Henry Balnaves who had been specially prominent in urging Knox to assume the office of preacher. As his place of durance Balnaves had been assigned the palace of Rouen, where he found solace in composing a treatise on the great reformation doctrine—Justification by Faith. On its completion he sent it to Knox, who was then, as he tells us, "in Roane, lying in irons, and sore troubled by corporall infirmitie, in a galley named *Nostre Dame*."² But Knox not only enjoyed this intercourse with his friends. In irons as he was, he had leisure to read the treatise of Balnaves, and to send it to the "Congregation of the Castle at St. Andrews," accompanied with a pithy digest, and a letter in which he warmly commends it as an admirable exposition of the fundamental doctrine of their religion.³

The shifting political combinations of the time at length brought Knox his deliverance. On the acces-

¹ *Works*, i. 229, 230.

² *Ibid.* iii. 8.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 5-28.

sion of Edward VI. in 1547 approaches were made between the governments of England and France, and among the councillors of Edward were those who were favourably disposed to the prisoners made at St. Andrews. As we learn from the Records of the Privy Council of England, Knox was in that country by 7th April 1549, and in all probability he had gained his freedom a month or two before that date.¹ In the case of his fellow-prisoners, also, his prediction was fulfilled to the letter, as in 1550, through the intercession of the English Government, all were permitted to leave France.²

¹ In a letter dated 31st December 1559 Knox states that he was in the galleys for nineteen months (*Works*, vi. 104). As he was taken to France in August 1547, this would fix the date of his restoration to liberty in February or March 1549.

² Tytler, *Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary*, i. 294-296, 326-329. In Edward VI.'s Journal there is an entry to the effect that the French delivered up the Scots prisoners taken at St. Andrews, 7th July 1550. —Burnet, *History of the Reformation in England* (the Journal of King Edward's reign written with his own hand), vol. v. p. 23 (edit. Pocock). In a previous entry it is implied that French prisoners had already been exchanged in April. Knox may have benefited by this exchange.

CHAPTER VII

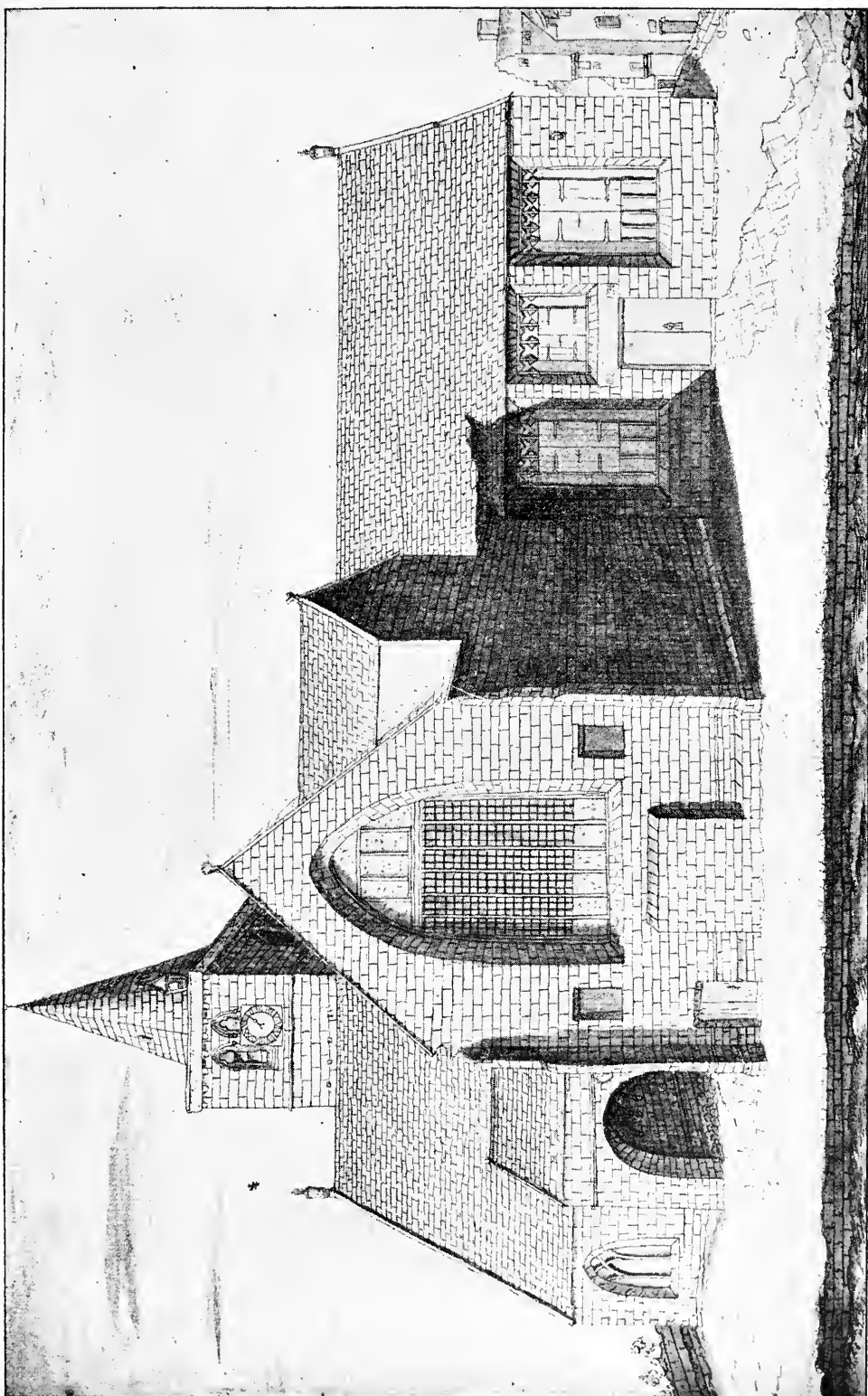
RELIGIOUS OPINIONS

RESTORED to liberty, Knox would have followed the desire of his heart had he at once proceeded to Scotland, and again borne testimony to the faith for which he had already suffered so much. But, as things now went in Scotland, there would have been no alternative for him save the fate of Wishart, or external compliance with the existing order. Not for other ten years did the course of events permit him to make his home in his native country, with any security to himself and any prospect of influencing its destinies in the way that seemed best to him. Through all these years, however, it was his unwavering conviction that the calling of his life was the proclamation of the truth to his fellow-countrymen. He never lost sight of this end, and never lost an opportunity of bringing his influence to bear on the counsels of the country. At the same time, these ten years he spent in England and on the Continent were years of such various and strenuous action, that of themselves they would justify us in regarding Knox as one of the remarkable figures of his time. With nothing to recommend him save his own talent and energy, he never failed to take his place as a leading spirit in whatever sphere he found himself; and when he finally returned to Scotland, it

was with an experience of men and things that gave a weight to his counsels, which they could not have carried had he never been beyond the bounds of Scotland.

Knox was now in his forty-fourth year, and his mind was definitively made up on all the great questions with which his name is specially associated. On certain minor points he gradually changed his views through the exigencies of logic and the pressure of events ; but such as he was now, he virtually remained to the end. At this point, therefore, it is desirable that we should take account of those governing principles which formed the spring of all his action, and on which he believed the eternal welfare of mankind depended.

It is in the sermon preached by Knox in St. Andrews and in the dispute that followed, taken with the treatise of Balnaves on Justification, that we find the expression of his fundamental beliefs at the period of his life at which we have now arrived. We have only a summary report of the sermon, but in Balnaves' treatise we have the elaborate manifesto of the religious movement which had for its avowed object the overthrow of the Church of Rome. Though not the work of Knox himself, he practically made it his own by sending it to Scotland, accompanied by a recommendatory epistle and a digest of its different chapters. As has been said, the treatise was written by Balnaves during his imprisonment at Rouen, and sent to Knox while he was on board the galley in the same town. For Balnaves himself Knox had a high respect as a consistent champion of the new opinions. Born about the year 1502, Balnaves, mainly through his own talent and energy, had risen to the dignity of Lord Ordinary



PARISH CHURCH OF ST. ANDREWS IN 1767

in the Court of Session in 1538. Even in the reign of James V., when such leanings were not popular at court, he had not concealed his approval of the Protestant teaching. In the first year of Arran's regency he was made Secretary of State, and did his utmost in supporting the English alliance; but when Arran became the tool of Beaton he was stripped of office, and thrown into prison as the dangerous opponent of the new policy. On his release he became one of Henry VIII.'s most active friends, received a pension from the English Government, and was one of the Scots concerned in the plots for the assassination of Beaton. In the deed of Norman Leslie and his companions, however, he had no share, and he joined the Castilians simply as a suspected person who did not feel himself safe while the friends of Beaton were at the head of affairs.¹ In his subsequent career he remained faithful to his Protestant convictions, and played an important part in the religious revolution of 1560. Balnaves' treatise, therefore, expressed the rooted convictions of his life. That Knox should have admired it we need not wonder, for besides its logical method and precision, which Knox himself does not exhibit in handling kindred subjects, it throbs with a heart-felt experience which could not but evoke a response in such as read it with the desire of spiritual profit.²

Though the doctrine of Justification by Faith is its central topic, Balnaves' treatise is in reality a manual of divinity, written for the guidance and instruction of

¹ In his edition of Knox (iii. 405-417), David Laing has brought together all the facts of Balnaves' career.

² Balnaves' treatise was not published till 1584. The manuscript was accidentally discovered by Richard Bannatyne, Knox's amanuensis, in the hands of a child in the village of Ormiston, and was published at Edinburgh by Thomas Vautrollier.—Knox, *Works*, iii. 431 *et seq.*

the individual believer in every relation of life. Having laid down the conditions of his spiritual welfare, it defines his duties as a father, as a citizen, and as a member of the Church. It notifies the marks by which the true Church may be distinguished, and the characters which should belong to those chosen to be their spiritual guides. The relative spheres of the temporal and the spiritual powers are treated with a precision that shows how the religious revolution had forced men to question the traditions of the Church on this as on other vital points of ecclesiastical polity. What is curious to note in the treatise, however, in view of the subsequent religious development of Scotland, is that Luther rather than Calvin seems to have inspired its author. As the writings of both were almost certainly known to Knox and Balnaves, the point is one to be noted in tracing the growth of Knox's opinions.¹ By this date the views of Calvin had taken definite shape, not only in books but in the constitution of the civil and religious settlement of Geneva. By his subsequent intercourse with Calvin, but also by the inherent necessity of his own theological system, Knox was eventually led to think with the Genevan reformer even on the subsidiary points of religious order.

As marking Knox's nearer approach to Luther than Calvin at this point in his career, his opinions on the order of bishops and the relations of subjects to their rulers may be specially noted. Now and till some years later Knox fully accepted bishops as a tolerable institution, though with Luther he rejected apostolical succession, and saw no difference of estate between

¹ Knox's intended visit to the schools of Germany will be remembered in this connection. George Wishart, it should be said, had been in Switzerland, and had translated the first Helvetic *Confession of Faith*.

priest and layman save one of office and function.¹ "There is two maner of vocations," he says in his summary of Balnaves' twenty-fourth chapter, "one immediate by God, as the Prophetes and Apostles were called to be preachers without authoritie of man. Another is, mediate, as when one man called another ; as Paull called Timothie and Titus to be bishops."² One of the nine heretical propositions of which he was accused at St. Andrews also affirmed that "there is no Bischoppes, except thei preach evin by thame selfis,³ without any substitute" ; a statement which implies that bishops are a legitimate institution of the Church. As we shall see, Knox was himself offered a bishopric during his residence in England, and though he refused it, this was from no conviction of the sinfulness of Episcopacy. "What moved me to refuse," he says, "and that with displeasure of all men (even of those that best loved me), those high promotions that were offred, by him⁴ whom God hath taken from us for our offences ? Assuredlie, the foresight of trouble to come."⁵ At a later period, indeed, he set down this refusal to his disapproval of bishops ; but this was after he had passed under the influence of Calvin, and had seen that in Scotland as in Geneva the presbyterian form of Church government was the best safeguard of religion.

¹ Cf. Luther's "Address to the German Nobility," p. 23 (*First Principles of the Reformation*, John Murray, 1883).

² *Works*, iii. 25. Even to the last Knox never taught that bishops are unscriptural.—Cf. *Works*, vi. 620 *et seq.*

³ *Works*, i. 194.

⁴ Edward VI. In a pamphlet, entitled "An Exhortation to England," published at Geneva in 1559, he has the following passage, which virtually recognises the office of bishop : "Let no man be charged, in preaching of Christ Jesus, above that which one man may do ; I mean that your bishoprikes be so devided, that of every one as they be now (for the most part) be made ten."—*Works*, v. 518.

⁵ *Works*, iii. 122.

On the question of the mutual relations of subject and ruler, Knox was also at this time more at one with Luther than with Calvin. From the nature of the German reformation, the question of the allegiance of subjects never assumed the supreme importance which it held from the first in Scotland, France, and Switzerland. The Lutheran movement made its way under a prince who at least offered it no direct opposition ; in France and Geneva, on the other hand, it was in the teeth of all the superior powers that the new religion found a footing in either soil. But this difference in the conditions of their origin of necessity gave rise to a different political philosophy in the Reformed and the Lutheran Churches. As was to be expected, Luther is a supporter of authority beyond what Calvin deemed the limits of right reason and the natural claims of the subject.¹ From the two following passages—the first written in 1548, the second in 1558—it will be seen how, under the teaching of Calvin and the schooling of events, Knox passed from opinions resembling those of Luther to the unflinching advocacy of the political tenets of Geneva. The first passage is from Balnaves' treatise, the second from a pamphlet of Knox's own written in 1558. "Your duetie is, to honour al men, love brotherly fellowship, feare God, and honour the king ; be obedient to him, not onely for feare and dreadour of his ire, but also for hurting of your conscience, because it is the will of God, in all thinges not repugning to his command. Give to thy prince and superiour his deutie ; or whatever he chargeth thee with concerning temporall

¹ For the views of Calvin and Luther respectively on the subject of the limits of allegiance to rulers, see lib. iv. cap. xx. of Calvin's *Institutes*, and Luther's treatise "On the Secular Power, and how far Obedience is due to it."

riches ; inquire not the cause, for that pertaineth not to thy vocation. Hee is thy head, whom thou shouldst obey : transgresse not his lawes ; be not a revenger of thy owne cause, for that is as much as to usurpe his office : so thou walkest not aright in thy vocation. Looke not to his faultes or vices ; but to thy owne. Disobey him not ; howbeit he bee evill and doe not the wrong (which becommeth him not of his office) ; grudge not thereat, but pray for him, and commit thy cause to God. Be not a perturber of the common weale, but live with thy neighbour at rest and quietnesse, every one supporting others as members of one body.”¹ There is, perhaps, no essential contradiction between this passage and the one about to be quoted, yet the feeling that pervades the latter, the points on which it lays emphasis, show that Knox’s political opinions were gradually modified by the exigencies of the religious situation.² “For now the commune song of al men is, We must obey our kinges, be they good or be they bad ; for God hath so commaunded. But horrible shall the vengeance be, that shalbe powred furth upon such blasphemers of God his holie name and ordinaunce. For it is no lesse blasphemie to say, that God hath commaunded kinges to be obeyed, when they commaund impietie, then to say, that God by his precept is auctour and mentainer of all inquitie. True it is, God hath commaunded kinges to

¹ Knox, *Works*, iii. 539, 540. In a letter written from the Continent in 1554 Knox has the following remarkable passage : “Lat a thing be heir notit, that the Prophetis of God sum tymes may teache treasone aganis kingis, and yit neither he, nor sic as obeyis the word spokin in the Lordis name be him, offendis God.”—*Works*, iii. 184.

² It is a curious fact that the Huguenots, the Catholics of the League, and the Puritans, were all driven by political circumstances to maintain the same revolutionary opinions regarding the right of subjects to rise against their rulers.

be obeyed, but like true it is, that in things which they commit against his glorie, or when cruelly without cause they rage against their brethren, the memberes of Christes body, he hath commaunded no obedience, but rather he hath approved, yea, and greatly rewarded such as have opposed themselves to their ungodlye commaundements and blind rage, as in the example of the Three Children, of Daniel, and Abdemelech (sic), it is evident." ¹

But it is in the central doctrine of Balnaves, Justification by Faith, that we have the vital principle of all Knox's action as a religious reformer. From his absorption of this doctrine as the principle of his spiritual life, it followed that the Church of Rome should appear to him purely and simply as the downright negation of living Christianity. It is to be remembered that in Knox's day the historical conception of any great institution was as yet undreamt of. To Knox and his brother reformers it never seriously occurred, that but for the Church of Rome Christianity itself would never have entered into the European civilisation. They made no allowance for the terrible compromises which every institution is forced to make with the passions and interests of men if it is to maintain an efficient life amid the revolutions of human affairs. As little did they dream that Protestantism in its turn would have to make its own concessions to the modern spirit, and to undergo a transformation as great in its way as the change from Papal to Protestant Christianity. Had such conceptions been borne in upon them, they might have been excellent philosophers, but they would never have

¹ *Works*, iv. 496. The passage occurs in an address to the nobility and Estates of Scotland.

done that work which has resulted in throwing the human spirit on its own resources in facing the ultimate problems of life. The mental operation of Knox with regard to the Church of Rome was very simple. Taking the Bible as the absolute standard of the Christian teaching,¹ he applied that standard to the Church of Rome as he saw it. The conclusion was irresistible. In her polity, her morals, her doctrine, she was parted by so deep a gulf from the Church of Christ and the apostles, that not reform, it seemed to him, but extinction, was the divine decree that had gone forth against her.

It is difficult for us to realise the overpowering force with which the doctrine of Justification by Faith came home to the mind and heart of the men of the sixteenth century; but the life of Knox and other reformers proves that it came to them as a revelation which renewed every principle of their being. For us a mere abstract proposition, it implied for them the emancipation from a bondage of spirit that paralysed each effort after a true union with God. Luther² and Erasmus, Knox and Sir David Lyndsay, widely as they differed in other points, all agree in this—that

¹ Balnaves has the following sentences regarding the right understanding of Scripture. "They deceive you which say, The Scriptures are difficil, no man can understand them but great clarkes. Verily, whome they call their clarkes knowe not what the Scriptures meane. Feare nor dread not to reade the Scriptures as yee are taught here before; and seeke nothing in them but your own salvation, and that which is necessarie for you to knowe. And so the Holy Spirit, your teacher, shall not suffer you to erre, nor go beside the right waye, but lead you in all veritie."—Knox, *Works*, iii. 470.

² "Thence (from erroneous views of the Sacraments) have sprung those infinite loads of vows, religious dedications, works, satisfactions, pilgrimages, indulgences, and systems; and from them those oceans of books and of human questionings, opinions, and traditions, which the whole world nowadays cannot contain."—Luther, *Babylonish Captivity*, Eng. trans. pp. 182, 183 (1883).

the human conscience had come to be overlaid by the artificial contrivances devised for men's salvation. Such a passage as the following from Erasmus helps us to realise what deliverance it must have brought to certain spirits, when it was announced to them as the truth of Scripture that their eternal salvation was a matter of individual concern to be settled between God and their own soul: "By the tyranny of the Mendicant Friars the world has been burdened by human constitutions, burdened by scholastic opinions and dogmas. . . . By these and many things of like nature the vigour of evangelical doctrine disappeared by degrees from the world."¹ The following passage from the treatise of Balnaves forcibly shows that it was the rebound from a mechanical religion that gave its revolutionary force to the doctrine that threw the individual on his own responsibility for the reason and life which is entrusted to him. "Blessed be God," he says, "the matter is so patent and plainely set forth in these dayes, concerning the said vaine workes invented by man, to the confusion thereof, by the godly men which laboure day and night in his Scriptures, to the edification of Christ's chosen litle flocke, that it is not needful to abide long upon the discussing of these matters; but onely to remit you to the Scriptures, and the saide godly declarations made thereupon; against the superstitious worshipping of Saintes; going in pilgrimage; purgeing in purgatorie; hallowing of water, or other elements; foundation of masses to publike or private idolatrie; offering or sacrifices

¹ "Mundus oneratus est constitutionibus humanis, oneratus est opinionibus et dogmatibus scholasticis, tyrannide Fratrum Mendicantium. . . . His et ejusmodi multis rebus paullatim evanescebat vigor evangelicae doctrinae."

making, not commanded in the Word of God ; choice of meats ; forbidding of marriage in the Church of God ; and abominable abuses of the whole Christian religion, by the shaven, oincted, or smeared priests, bishops, monkes, and friers ; having onely there vocation of man, and by man.”¹

While the doctrine of Justification by Faith was thus of such transcendent importance to Knox, it has to be noted that he was no systematic theologian like Calvin or Melanchthon. He had neither the self-control nor the constructive power requisite to the building up of a theological system fitted to satisfy the intellect and the conscience of communities of believers. He wrote a large octavo volume on the subject of Predestination ; but though this treatise shows him to have been a skilful disputant, every page likewise gives proof that he lacked that consummate self-mastery which enabled Calvin to present in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* an organic whole, clamped as with bands of iron, and that defies every weapon in the armoury of the logician. The true function of Knox in the Church he has himself described for us in his introduction to the treatise of Balnaves. “Consider, brethren,” he says, “it is no speculative Theolog which desireth to give you courage, but even your Brother in affliction, which partly hath experience what Sathan’s wrath may doe against the chosen of God.”² It was the vivid reality of his own experience, that made Knox a voice of power in an age which beyond most others demanded depth of conviction to retain a constant faith in man’s destinies.

¹ Knox, *Works*, iii. 519.

² *Ibid.* p. 10.

BOOK II

KNOX IN ENGLAND

1549-1554

CHAPTER I

KNOX IN ENGLAND—BERWICK-ON-TWEED

1549-1551

THE work of Knox in Scotland is so memorable that we are apt to forget that many of the best years of his life were given to the sister country. But for an ill-advised publication, indeed, it is not improbable that, at the accession of Elizabeth, England and not Scotland might have been his final home. As we shall see, he was now to spend the next five years as a specially-chosen instrument of the leaders of the English Reformation under Edward VI. Of the five years that followed, four were spent in ministering to congregations of English refugees in Frankfort and Geneva. When we remember, also, that his first wife was an Englishwoman, that his two sons by her were both educated in England,¹ and that to the close of his own life he took the keenest interest in English politics and religion, it is clear that by his personal history not less than by the results of his life-work, he does not belong so peculiarly to his native country as is generally supposed. His own words leave us in no doubt as to the strength of the ties that bound him to England. Writing in 1554, shortly after the accession

¹ This point will be again referred to.

of Mary, he says: "Somtyme I have thought that impossible it had bene, so to have removed my affection from the Realme of Scotland, that eny Realme or Nation coulde have bene equall deare unto me. But God I take to recorde in my conscience, that the troubles present (and appearing to be) in the Realme of England, are double more dolorous unto my hert, then ever were the troubles of Scotland."¹

By the spring of 1549, when Knox arrived in England, the religious revolution under Edward VI. was in a fair way of being consummated. At the death of Henry VIII. in 1547, the ritual and doctrine of the English Church were virtually what they had been before the breach with Rome.² Henry had a haunting anxiety to save his orthodoxy in every point except that which involved the surrender of his own personal caprice; but it soon appeared that the Church of England could not remain where he had left it. The schism from Rome implied so profound a breach with the mediæval order, that of necessity it moved the country to searchings of mind and conscience, which could not leave it where it had stood.³ It is beyond dispute that the vast majority of the people would have wished to abide in the ways of their fathers;⁴ but the day had not come when the national wish could make itself felt in the direction of affairs. The opinion that influenced the executive was that of London and other

¹ *Works*, iii. 133. As these words were written at a crisis in the history of England as well as in Knox's personal fortunes, allowance must be made for a certain exaggeration in his statement.

² Gasquet and Bishop, *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer* (1890), p. 4.

³ It proves how deeply the public mind was moved by the religious changes, that theology was the great subject of discussion in markets and ale-houses.—Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 342 (edit. 1822).

⁴ Three-fourths is the common estimate.

towns, which from their wealth and enterprise could not be ignored in the adoption of any important line of policy. As was so tragically proved in the history of Lady Jane Grey, the opinion of London was a potent factor which had to be reckoned with in every question of national importance; and by the beginning of Edward's reign there was a strenuous section of the citizens of London who were eager for the most radical changes both in the doctrines and ceremonies of the established religion. Other forces, moreover, were moving the country to the same issues. There were few families of distinction which had not profited by the seizure of Church property in the previous reign; and it was the special interest of all such that a return to the old jurisdiction should be as remote a contingency as legislation could make it. As it happened, also, the two men into whose hands the chief power fell at Henry's death, the Earl of Hertford¹ and Archbishop Cranmer, were personally inclined to the new ways of thinking in religion. As the result of all these forces, Knox on his arrival in England found the chiefs of the state engaged to a policy which had his most ardent approval.

As yet, indeed, the religious changes enforced in the country fell far short of Knox's ideal of a church purified from the corruptions of Rome. All that had as yet been accomplished was only the destruction of images, the abolition of certain time-honoured customs, and the giving of the cup to the laity.² But with the mass of the people opposed to every innovation, the Government had to feel its way to more radical measures.

¹ Afterwards Duke of Somerset.

² For the populace, of course, these changes would be far more palpably revolutionary than any change in the metaphysics of their creed.

Even the changes already made had sufficed to work the country into fever-heat. By the spring of 1549, the power of Somerset was already shaken by jealous rivals and by the general discontent, engendered by a time of religious and economic transition. By the execution of his brother, Lord Seymour, who had aimed at supplanting him in the chief power, Somerset had for a time at least lost much of the popularity which he had always done his best to cultivate. Already, also, there were threatenings of the insurrections which a few months later were to set the country in a blaze. But though the ground was thus shaking beneath him, Somerset still held to his purpose of simplifying the existing religious system. In the preceding year (1548) had appeared *The Order of Communion*, in which it was expressly stated that the Mass should be celebrated with no variation in rite or ceremony until another Order should be forthcoming.¹ Now there was to be put forth another manual which left no doubt of the intention of those in power to approximate to the Protestant churches of the Continent. In this new volume, known as the *First Book of Common Prayer*, doctrine was still left untouched; but the spirit of revolution appeared in the wholesale rejection of ceremonies, and the substitution of English for Latin in every part of the Church service.

Such was the state of things in England when Knox threw himself heart and soul into the work to which he had now devoted his life. His zeal might outrun the cautious policy of Cranmer and Somerset; but instruments such as Knox were precisely what they needed to carry to a successful issue the revolution on which they

¹ *Liturgies of Edward VI.* (Parker Society), p. 4.

were bent. The majority of the bishops and the lower clergy were opposed to any change in ritual or creed, and were thus but so many agents in all parts of the country, thwarting at every step the policy of the Government. For this reason among others Cranmer was constrained to invite to his side such foreign theologians as were of his own way of thinking. The very year of the late king's death they began to troop across the Channel—Bernardino Ochino, Peter Martyr, Utenhovius, John à Lasco, Martin Bucer,¹ and a crowd of others, differing among themselves in minor points of doctrine, but all equally eager to lend their hands to the work of bringing the ancient Church to the ground. From as early as 1537, Scotsmen who had embraced the new religion had sought a refuge in England,² and now there were several who, along with Knox, found employment in furthering the cause for which they were in exile.

In view of the general hostility of the clergy, it was naturally a main concern of the Government that the privilege of preaching should not be used to traverse all their efforts at religious reform. At the very outset of the new reign, therefore, a Book of Homilies was prepared, and commanded to be read every Sunday in all the churches. In the beginning of the following year bishops and clergy were forbidden to preach beyond their cures; and a proclamation immediately followed, forbidding even bishops to preach without a licence, and restricting the grant of this licence to the king, Somerset, and Cranmer.³ The licensed preachers, thus so carefully selected, and backed by all

¹ The order of their coming is noted in Schickler's *Les Églises de Réfuge en Angleterre* (Paris, 1892), vol. i. chap. i.

² Lorimer, *Precursors of Knox*, p. 187.

³ Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. part i. p. 142.

the power of the executive, formed a body of useful agents in counteracting the influence of the parochial clergy. Several of them, such as Parker, Latimer, and Grindal, are historic names in the English Church ; but picked men though they were, they by no means saw eye to eye on all points of doctrine and Church order. Their zeal, indeed, often outran their commission, and led to scenes which did not further the cause of religion. In the case of a few a roving commission was granted, in accordance with which they traversed the length and breadth of the country, bearing their testimony wherever it seemed good to them. Others by the terms of their licence were restricted to one spot, where they were supposed to labour till their services were required elsewhere.

From the entry in the Records of the Privy Council already quoted, we learn that by the 7th of April 1549, Knox was among the preachers licensed by the Government ; and from himself we learn that Berwick was the first sphere of his labours.¹ As a town half Scotch, half English,² it was natural that Berwick should be assigned to the care of a Scotsman ; yet there may have been the further reason that of all corners of England, Berwick was the most untowardly soil for the new teaching. The north generally was the great stronghold of the ancient faith, but as a garrison town, swarming with a profligate soldiery, Berwick must have been a specially unpromising field for an evangelist. At ordinary times the garrison

¹ *Works*, i. 231. In a list in the Record Office of licensed preachers during the reign of Edward VI., Knox's name appears along with those of five other Scots. The list will be found in Laing's *Knox*, vi. pp. xxv.-xxviii., and in Dixon's *Church of England*, ii. 485, 486.

² Berwick was taken by the English in 1482.

consisted of about six hundred men; but as at the period of Knox's sojourn there was constant dread of a French attack on the town, the number would probably then be much greater.¹ "There is better order among the Tartars than in this town," wrote a correspondent to Somerset in November 1548;² and another sentence from the *State Papers* describes a sight which was often seen during the first year of Knox's residence in the town: "The poor soldiers that came back from Haddington and other places are shut out of their houses, unprovided with victuals, and die for want of relief in the streets, against the good order of all towns and against all justice." The streets of the town, we also read, were so foul that on the occasion of any alarm the soldiers could with difficulty make their way to the walls. To complete this picture of Berwick it has to be added that the spiritual guide of the inhabitants, one (Sir) Robert Selby, is characterised as "a very simple man," who received from his vicar the sum of £7 a year.³ It is evident, therefore, that for such a spot as Berwick a preacher of proved gifts was very specially needed; and Knox, whose zeal and stoutness of heart had been put to such stern test in wilder scenes than even the streets of Berwick, was of all men the fittest who could have been chosen for this special office.

Knox has himself recorded the results of his labours in Berwick; and as in later life he had always a kindly feeling towards the town, we may conclude that he does not unduly exalt his success. In one of

¹ Scott, *History of Berwick* (1888), pp. 101, 135.

² *State Papers*, Edward VI. 1548. Comparing Berwick with Calais, Knox says that "in theft, debate, hatred, and all iniquitie," the former had the pre-eminence.—*Works*, v. 490.

³ *State Papers*, Elizabeth, 1560.

his interviews with Queen Mary he represents himself as speaking to the following effect: "For in England I wes resident onlie the space of fyve yearis. The places war Berwick, whair I abode two yearis; so long in the New Castell; and a year in London.¹ Now, Madam, yf in any of these places, during the tyme that I wes thair, any man sal be able to prove that thair wes eather battell, seditioun, or mutinie, I shall confesse that I my selff was the malefactour, and the scheddar of the bloode. I eschame not, Madam, farther to affirme, that God so blissed my waik labouris, that in Berwick (whair commonlie befor thair used to be slauchter, be ressoune of quarrellis that used to aryse amongis soldartis) thair was as great quyetnes, all the tyme that I remaned thair, as thair is this day in Edinburgh."²

In all probability the congregation which Knox gathered round him in Berwick would consist mainly of Scotsmen. During the war now proceeding between the two countries many Scots were forced to become English subjects, and had often to take refuge in Berwick from the sword of their own countrymen.³ Certain of his Scottish hearers, also, would be such as had already embraced the new opinions, and had settled in Berwick for personal safety. What were the numbers of Knox's congregation we have no means of determining;⁴ but at all events he succeeded in establishing a form of worship among them in perfect accordance with his own views of Scriptural

¹ By this must be understood that Knox's different visits to London taken together may have amounted to a year.

² *Works*, ii. 280.

³ *State Papers*, Edward VI., 14th November 1548.

⁴ When he refers to his congregations in England, he always speaks of them as a "small flock."

truth. From a letter¹ he addressed to them towards the end of 1552 we gather that he celebrated the communion service after the fashion he had already adopted at St. Andrews.² By the terms of his licence as a preacher, he was bound to the teaching of the *First Book of Common Prayer*, which had come into use on the 9th of June 1549; and in this book the central doctrines of the Roman Church, the Mass and the Real Presence, were left untouched. But from Knox himself we learn that he did not consider himself bound by any law then existing in England. Moreover, in the intention both of Somerset and of Cranmer, the *First Book of Common Prayer* was a merely tentative production, meant to prepare the way for more radical changes. Even by the date of the publication of the First Prayer-Book, Cranmer had himself abandoned the doctrine of the Real Presence,³ and Somerset probably took his religious opinions from the Archbishop. We need not wonder, therefore, that Knox was left to his own devices, and was permitted to introduce into an English town a form of religious service after the model of the most advanced Swiss reformers.

During his two years in Berwick Knox had among his friends and hearers a certain Mrs. Bowes, with whom he was to be more or less closely related till near the end of his life. She was the wife of Richard Bowes, at that time captain of Norham Castle, about

¹ Lorimer, *John Knox and the Church of England*, pp. 262, 263. This letter was first published by Dr. Lorimer, who discovered it in "The Morrice Collection of Manuscripts" in Dr. William's library, Grafton Street (now in Gordon Square), London. Of the genuineness of this letter there can be no doubt.

² See above, p. 73.

³ *Original Letters relative to the English Reformation* (Parker Society), p. 322.

six miles above Berwick on the banks of the Tweed. Richard Bowes was the younger son of Sir Ralph Bowes of Streatlam Castle, and had as his two brothers, Sir Ralph Bowes, who was knighted at Flodden, and Sir Robert Bowes, warden of the Marches. Mrs. Bowes came of equally honourable stock, being daughter and co-heiress of Roger Aske, of Aske in Yorkshire.¹ At the date of Knox's stay in Berwick she was probably about fifty years of age, and was the mother of five sons and ten daughters. Before her acquaintance with Knox she had leanings to the new religion; but in Knox she seems to have found a spiritual guide after her own heart. The letters which Knox afterwards addressed to her form one of the most interesting chapters in his biography, and give us precisely what was needed to supplement the accounts we possess of his public career. Of this correspondence and the light it throws on Knox's personal character, a more fitting occasion to speak will afterwards be found. Here it is sufficient to say that Mrs. Bowes was a woman of somewhat morbid fancies, which kept her in a chronic state of distraction as to her spiritual welfare. So importunate was she for Knox's spiritual counsels that his visits to her even gave rise to public gossip.² By Mrs. Bowes' family he seems to have been differently regarded by its different members. At least one of her sons appears to have been in friendly relations with him,³ and to the fifth daughter, Marjory, he became so attached that he afterwards made her his wife. On the other hand, the husband and brother-in-law regarded him with no kindly feeling.⁴ Family pride doubtless

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography.*

² *Works*, vi. 513, 514.

³ *Ibid.* iii. 376.

⁴ *Ibid.* 378.

made part of their objection ; but as enemies to the new faith,¹ they were bound to regard him as a heretic of the most offensive type, and an impertinent intruder into their domestic circle. Thenceforward, however, both in England and abroad, Mrs. Bowes and her daughter held a foremost place in Knox's thoughts ; and, homeless exile as he was, and already touched with the infirmities of age, it must have soothed his rugged spirit when he remembered how, in their admiring affection, these two women followed him with their prayers in what he and they alike deemed his prophetic mission against the powers of darkness.

By his own account it must have been early in 1551 that Knox removed from Berwick to Newcastle, doubtless by the orders of the Privy Council, since, as we have seen, the licensed preachers were merely State officials with a specified mission. During his two years at Berwick things had gone apace in the country at large. By the rebellions in Devonshire and Norfolk (1549), prompted alike by social and religious discontent, it plainly appeared that England was stirred to its depths by the spiritual and material transition through which she was now passing. For the cause that Knox had at heart, however, the most significant event was the deposition of Somerset from the Protectorate, and the succession of the Earl of Warwick to his authority. It soon appeared that at least in his religious policy Warwick deemed it his wisest course to follow his predecessor. Close upon Somerset's fall (1549) a new Ordinal² was put

¹ As we shall afterwards see, religious differences occasioned a breach between Mrs. Bowes and her family.

² The Form and Manner of Making and Consecrating of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.—*Liturgies of King Edward VI.* p. 159.

forth which marked a still further departure from the usage of Rome. About the same time an Act of Parliament was passed by which such images and paintings as still remained in the churches were to be swept away once for all. The war against images was followed by the war against altars, Ridley and Hooper especially distinguishing themselves in this crusade.¹ When in the season of Lent, 1550, Cranmer and his household ostentatiously ate meat, it was an indication which all the world could appreciate of the definitive breach the government had made with the old order. Yet all the changes that had been made fell far short of Knox's conception of a truly Christian Church. So long as the First Prayer-Book embodied the faith of England, it was his conviction that the battle was only begun. But by the date of his removal to Newcastle the Second Liturgy of Edward VI. was already in sight,² and to hasten its coming was the one object to which all his energies were bent.

¹ Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, iii. 183.

² Gasquet and Bishop, p. 259.

CHAPTER II

KNOX IN NEWCASTLE

1551-1552

DURING Knox's sojourn in Berwick he had already paid one memorable visit to Newcastle. On the 4th of April 1550, apparently by the command of the body known as the Council of the North,¹ he delivered a sermon specially directed against the mass. He must have remembered this occasion with some complacency, since he afterwards printed his address in full.² As the Council consisted of the leading nobility and gentry of the north of England,³ this was in truth the most august assembly he had as yet faced. Among his hearers, doubtless in his capacity as member of the Council, was Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham,⁴ for whom Knox appears to have had all the distaste that comes of essential difference of temperament and conviction on the deepest questions of life. As the nominees of the Government, the Council should have heard with approval Knox's diatribe against the

¹ As Canon Dixon has pointed out (iii. 331, *note*), Dr. M'Crie has no grounds for stating that a charge had been brought against Knox before Tunstall, Bishop of Durham. The truth is that the bishop was at this time on the losing side.

² *Works*, iii. 32, *et seq.*

³ The list of members, twenty-three in number, is given in Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 161. Sir Robert Bowes, the brother-in-law of Mrs. Bowes, was a member.

⁴ *Works*, iii. 33.

central doctrine of the Catholic Church. On the other hand, the majority of its members approved of the old ways, so that it could not have been of their own wish that Knox found the very opportunity he wanted. It is difficult, therefore, to determine what could have been the occasion of this assembly specially called to listen to him. In the title affixed to his address we have the sole account of the circumstances under which it was delivered: "The Fourt of Apryle, in the yeir 1550, was appoyntit to Johne Knox, Preacher of the Halie Euangell of Jesus Chryst, to gif his Confessioun why he affirmed the Masse idolatrie."¹ The phrase "to gif his confessioun," as we know from his use of it elsewhere, simply means "to make public profession": there is nothing, therefore, to justify the conclusion that he had been summoned with any unfriendly purpose. In preaching against the mass he was but carrying out what we know to have been the real wish of those at the head of affairs.² His own words, indeed, imply that he ran no risk in saying what he did. "Let no man think," he says in the course of his address, "that because I am in the Realme of England, that thairfoir so boldlie I speak aganis this abominatioun."³

But whatever may have been the occasion of the assembly, there can be no doubt that the address which Knox delivered could not fail to fix men's eyes upon him as one of the most notable champions of the new teaching. Compared with similar productions of his most distinguished English contemporaries, Cran-

¹ *Works*, iii. 33.

² In the same year as Knox delivered his sermon against the mass, appeared Cranmer's *Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament*, in which he attacks the doctrine of the Real Presence.

³ *Works*, iii. 69.

mer, Latimer, Hooper, Knox's performance strikes us as the expression of a far more powerful nature and far more strenuous intelligence than belonged to any of them. Cranmer had little of that enthusiasm of conviction which trebled all the natural powers of Knox. Hooper abounded in zeal, and was as headlong as Knox himself in throwing all tradition to the winds ; but his mind was ill-trained, and he had nothing of Knox's power of fusing logic and passion, and storming at once the mind and the heart of his audience. The sermons of Latimer have a place of their own in the history of English literature. Their quaintness, the curious sidelights which they throw upon his own time, their not infrequent buffoonery, have given them this advantage over similar productions of his contemporaries. While Latimer's sermons, however, possess for us a greater interest than those of Knox, there can be no question of the relative stature of the two men. From all the writings of Knox, from his letters not less than from his set performances, we receive an impression which none of his English contemporaries ever convey—the impression of an individuality marked for a special purpose, and endowed with every gift requisite for its fulfilment.

The position taken up by Knox in his address was that of all the Reformers, who like himself aimed at a complete breach with mediæval Christianity. No rite or doctrine was consonant with Christian purity which was not in so many words expressly laid down in Scripture. With his usual fondness for dialectical formulas Knox sententiously stated his case in two syllogisms. "All wirschipping, honoring, or service inventit by the braine of man in the religioun of God, without his own express commandment, is Idolatrie : The Masse is in-

ventit be the braine of man, without any commandement of God : Thairfor it is Idolatrie.” “All honoring or service of God, whairunto is addit a wickit opinioun, is abominatioun. Unto the Masse is addit a wickit opinioun. Thairfoir it is abominatioun.”¹ In support of these two syllogisms, Knox, in the manner of the time, adapts and arranges incidents and passages from the Bible to suit his purpose. It is needless to say that his method of procedure is arbitrary in the highest degree, and that by a similar handling of texts any fanatic could make good his wildest visions. One example may perhaps suffice. To prove the proposition that all worship not expressly enjoined by God is idolatry, he adduces the story of Saul neglecting to exterminate the Amalekites at the command of God through Samuel. Long afterwards Knox was taken in hand by a vigorous adversary for this slip in his logic;² but, in truth, this war of texts did not touch the real question at issue between the two great parties. Underlying all this verbal logic was the fundamental principle of Knox and those who thought with him,—that rites and ceremonies were but so many barriers between the soul of man and God.

When Knox settled in Newcastle, therefore, he was already one of the protagonists in the struggle that was convulsing the country. As in Berwick, he seems to have gathered round him a congregation of worshippers like-minded with himself. In the matter of doctrines and ceremonies, he tells us, they “feared not to go before statutes and laws,” thus anticipating the prescriptions of the Second Book of

¹ *Works*, iii. 34, 52.

² “The Reasoning betwixt the Abbot of Crossraguell and John Knox concerning the Mass,” 1562.—*Works*, vi. 149 *et seq.*

Common Prayer put forth by the government in 1552. Yet in spite of their zeal, when, during the reign of Mary, their pastor was no longer beside them to fire them with his own courage, many of them yielded to the pressure of the time, and relapsed to their former faith. It was certainly no fault of Knox if they did not attain to the heroism of martyrs. From the pastoral letters he afterwards addressed to them during his exile abroad, we learn what was the burden of his preaching, and the spirit in which he proclaimed it. It was his firm conviction that the triumph of the new opinions could only be temporary, and that a season of trial was ahead through which the Reformed Church must needs pass before she could be brought to the true pattern of the Divine command. It is proved at every turn of Knox's career that his zeal never blinded him to the signs of the time. At this period he saw clearly what Cranmer and other English bishops friendly to the Reformation never seem to have looked fairly in the face. This was the simple fact, that the new religion hung by the precarious tenure of the young king's life. Knox never ceased to declare that, for the statesmen who led the religious revolution, the change was one of purely secular policy, and that only a new turn of events was needed to undo the work already accomplished. While other reformers spoke in glowing terms of Somerset and Northumberland, Knox from the first saw and proclaimed that to neither of them was religion a matter of any real concern beyond its bearing on their own selfish interests. As afterwards in Scotland, his sermons at this time were as much political harangues as spiritual exhortations, and, as we shall presently see, exercised an influence that could not be ignored by those in authority.

During his first year in Newcastle, the second arrest of Somerset and his subsequent condemnation were the events that exercised all men's minds. Knox did not share the admiration of Somerset which most of his brother reformers expressed. If the choice was to be made between him and Northumberland, however, he had no hesitation in declaring for Somerset. It is true that Somerset "became so cold in hearing Godis Word, that the year befoir his last apprehensioun, he wald ga visit his masonis, and wald not dainyie himself to ga from his gallerie to his hall for heiring of a sermone."¹ Still, in Knox's eyes, Somerset was the victim of Northumberland's ambition, and deserved a better fate as one who had lifted his hand, however feebly, against the stronghold of Antichrist. The measures taken against Somerset, therefore, called forth his sternest rebukes. "I was compelled of conscience," he says, "oftener then once to affirme that suche as sawe, and invented the meane how the one should be taken awaye, sawe and shoulde finde the meanes also to take awaye the other; and that al that trouble was devised by the Devil and his instrumentes, to stoppe and let Christe's disciples and their poore bote."² Writing some years later, after the Marian persecution had driven him to seek his safety abroad, he specially recalls one occasion when he spoke his mind so frankly on the policy of the time, that it brought him into trouble with certain of the leading personages in the north. "For that wretched (alas!) and miserable Northumberlande³ could not be satisfied, tyl such tyme as simple Somerset most unjustlye was bereft of his

¹ *Works*, iii. 176, 177.

² *Ibid.* p. 278.

³ Northumberland's apostasy on the scaffold explains these expressions.

lyfe. What the Devel, and his members, the pestilent Papistes, meant by his awaye-takinge, God compelled my tounge to speake in mo places then one. And specially before you,¹ and in the Newe Castle, as Syr Robert Brandlinge² dyd not forget of long tyme after.”³ From such passages it will be seen that when afterwards in Scotland Knox called the politicians to account, he had already tried his powers and won his experience in a larger sphere and in more critical circumstances.

As has been said, there were two classes of preachers who held their licence from the government—those who were restricted to preach in one place, and those empowered to traverse the country and preach where it seemed good to them. Till near the close of 1551 Knox probably belonged to the former class, since both at Berwick and Newcastle he discharged all the duties of the pastor of a congregation. During the remainder of his residence in Newcastle, however, larger powers were committed to him, and at least on certain occasions he discharged the duties of an itinerary preacher.⁴ At this time, also, a distinction was conferred on him, which confirms what other evidence sufficiently proves—that he was one of the most prominent figures in the party of religious reform. In December 1551, for the more vigorous furtherance of the religious policy of the government, six royal chaplains were chosen from the most eminent of the reforming preachers, of whom in turn two were

¹ His congregation in Newcastle.

² Brandling had once been Mayor of Newcastle.

³ *Works*, iii. 277.

⁴ In a letter to Mrs. Bowes he says: “I mycht be mair diligent in going fra place to place, although I suld beg, and preache Chryst.”—*Works*, iii. 390.

to remain at Court, and the other four were to preach in specified districts in succeeding years.¹

The few facts that we know regarding Knox during the following year (1552) prove his increased importance in the eyes of those at the head of affairs. In that year Northumberland, by the execution of Somerset, became the first man in the country. As general warden of the Marches he visited the north in the course of the summer,² when, probably for the first time, Knox came into personal contact with him. More than once Knox had the opportunity of preaching before him, and we have it on his own assurance that he spoke with his usual frankness when in the presence of the great. It was Northumberland's policy to widen the breach between the old faith and the new; yet, Catholic as he was at heart,³ the preaching of Knox must have been little to his mind. But a letter

¹ *Journal of Edward VI.* p. 59 (Burnet, vol. v. edit. Pocock); Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. part i. pp. 521, 522.

Both David Laing and Dr. Lorimer were satisfied that Knox was a royal chaplain; but Canon Dixon in two passages of his *History of the Church of England* (ii. 326, 478-9) has questioned the fact. It seems as conclusive evidence as we could wish that Knox's name appears twice along with those of five others who were undoubtedly royal chaplains. Canon Dixon's main objection to Knox's claim is based on a passage in Strype (*Memorials*, vol. ii. part i. p. 324), which he thinks must have escaped Dr. Lorimer. The passage is as follows: "There was an annuity by patent, dated March 13, of 40*l.* granted to Edmund Grindal, B.D., and chaplain to the King's Majesty's *durante beneplacito*, with a *Liberat Dormant*. The same annuity, of the same date, was granted to William Bill, D.D., John Harley, B.D., and Andrew Perne, D.D." It would be unwarrantable to assume that, because Knox's name does not appear in this list, he was not of the number of the royal chaplains. As the date specified in this passage of Strype, however, is March 1552, it may very well have happened that Knox received his appointment between that date and October of the same year, when he is actually named with the other chaplains. That he was not one of the original six appointed in December 1551 is indisputable.—Laing's *Knox*, vi. xxix.

² Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 111.

³ He confessed this on the scaffold.

of his own specially relating to Knox shows us at once his real feeling with regard to him, and his estimate of Knox's significance as a disturbing force in the country. "I would to God," he writes to Cecil on the 28th of October 1552, "it might please the King's majesty to appoint Mr. Knocks to the office of Rochester bishoprick ;¹ which, for three purposes, should do very well. The first, he would not only be a whetstone, to quicken and sharp the Bishop of Canterbury, whereof he hath need ; but also he would be a great confounder of the Anabaptists lately sprung up in Kent. Secondly, he should not continue the ministration in the north, contrary to this set forth here. Thirdly, the family of the Scots, now inhabiting in Newcastle chiefly for his fellowship, would not continue there, wherein many resorts unto them out of Scotland, which is not requisite. Herein I pray you, desire my Lord Chamberlain and Vice-Chamberlain² to help towards this good act, both for God's service and the king's."³ From a passage in another letter of Northumberland, dated 7th December, to Cecil, we learn how Knox had received his offer. "Master Knox's being here to speak with me," he writes, "saying that he was so willed by you, I do return him again, because I love not to have to do with men which be neither grateful nor pleasurable. I assure you I mind to have no more to do with him, but to wish him well."⁴ We have already seen what opinions Knox held regarding

¹ Vacant by the translation of Ponet to Winchester.—Dixon, iii. 273.

² Lord Darcy and Sir John Gates.—Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 160.

³ Tytler, *England under the Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary*, ii. 142. This and the following letters relating to Knox were first published by Tytler.

⁴ Tytler, ii. 148.

bishoprics :¹ he had no objection in principle to the office, and refused Northumberland's offer solely on the ground that the times were not such as to justify him in accepting it. From the tone of Northumberland's reference to Knox, we may conclude that they were not of the same mind on the questions which brought them together. Knox probably saw in the Duke's offer simply a veiled attempt to put a check on his inconvenient activity, and preferred to hold himself aloof from an office which might have compromised him.

A third letter of Northumberland completes our knowledge of his relations with Knox. It belongs to the following year, but still bears on Knox's doings in the north. The "perplexity" in which Knox found himself we may naturally suppose to have some connection with those political harangues to which reference has just been made. "Herewith," the Duke writes again to Cecil, "I do return unto you as well Mr. Morison's letters as also the Lord Wharton's,² and do also send with the same such letters as I have received from the said Lord Wharton of the 2nd and 3rd of this instant,³ with also one letter from poor Knoxe, by the which you may perceive what perplexity the poor soul remaineth in at this present; the which in my poor opinion, should not do amiss to be remembered to the rest of my Lords, that some order might be taken by their wisdoms for his recomfort. And as I would not wish his abode should be of great continuance in those parts, but to come and to go as shall

¹ See above, p. 93.

² Wharton was a member of the Council of the North; but did not approve of the late changes in religion. This explains Knox's difficulty with him.

³ The Duke's letter is dated 9th January 1553.

please the King's Majesty and my Lords to appoint him, so do I think it very expedient that his Highness' pleasure should be known, as well to the Lord Wharton, as to those of Newcastle, that his Highness hath the poor man and his doings in gracious favour; otherwise some hindrance in the matters of religion may rise and grow amongst the people, being inclined of nature to great inconstancy and mutations. And the rather do I think this meet to be done, for that it seemeth to me that the Lord Wharton himself is not altogether without suspicion how the said Knoxe's doings hath been here taken; wherefore I pray you that something may be done whereby the King's Majesty's pleasure to my Lords may be indelayedly certified to the said Lord Wharton, of the King's Majesty's good contentation towards the poor man and his proceedings, with commandment that no man shall be so hardy to vex him or trouble him for setting forth the King's Majesty's most godly proceedings, or [what he] hereafter by his Majesty's commandment shall do; for that his Majesty mindeth to employ the man from time to time in those parts, and elsewhere, as shall seem good to his Highness for the edifying of his people in the fear of God. And that something might be written to the Mayor for his greedy accusation of the poor man, wherein he hath, in my poor opinion, uttered his malicious stomach towards the King's proceedings if he might see a time to serve his purpose; as knoweth God, to whose infinite goodness let us pray that all things may prosper to his glory, and to the honour and surety of the King's Majesty."¹

Beyond the facts specified in this letter we know nothing further of the proceedings taken against

¹ Tytler, ii. 158-160.

Knox, but, as he still continued his labours, preaching in the Court as well as in various parts of England, it is clear that his liberty of speech and action was in no degree curtailed. In spite of Northumberland's pitying tone, also, it is certain that Knox did not quail before the troubles he had brought upon himself. Within the next few months he was on two distinct occasions called to account by the Privy Council for conduct which it deemed recalcitrant.

The good opinion which Edward had of Knox had not been formed from hearsay. As one of the King's chaplains it had fallen to Knox to preach before the Court in the autumn of 1552. When Northumberland wrote the above letter, therefore, the King had already had the opportunity of forming his opinion of the Scottish preacher. By good fortune an interesting contemporary reference to Knox's appearance before the Court enables us to conjecture what impression he made. In a letter dated London, 12th October 1552, Utenhovius writes as follows to the famous theologian, Bullinger, at Zurich:¹ "Some disputes have arisen within these few days among the bishops, in consequence of a sermon of a pious preacher, chaplain² to the duke of Northumberland, preached by him before the King and Council, in which he inveighed with great freedom against kneeling at the Lord's Supper, which is still retained here by the English. This good man, however, a Scotsman by nation, has so wrought upon the minds of many persons, that we may hope some good

¹ *Original Letters*, etc. (Parker Society), pp. 591, 592. There can be no doubt whatever, as the sequel will show, that the Scottish preacher was no other than Knox.

² The original is "concionator." The translation is that given in the *Original Letters*.

to the Church will at length arise from it; which I earnestly implore the Lord to grant."

But to understand the sensation caused by Knox's sermon certain explanations are necessary. At this moment the question of kneeling was hotly exercising the minds of the reforming theologians in England. As has been said, the First English Prayer Book had been put forth merely as a tentative and provisional expression of the mind of the English reformers, and it was now about to be superseded by the Second Prayer Book, which was to come into use on the first of November. By the date when Knox preached the sermon to which Utenhovius refers, the sale of the book had already begun.¹ It might have seemed too late, therefore, to effect any change in its contents; yet this was what Knox actually succeeded in bringing to pass.

In the new book there was but one point to which Knox took strenuous objection—a rubric which enjoined the posture of kneeling at Communion. In the First Prayer Book no such rubric had been inserted, for the reason that, as the use and wont of the Christian Church, this "gesture" had been taken for granted. But since the appearance of the first Book, the party opposed to the Roman view of the Eucharist had grown in numbers and strength. Hooper among the English reformers, and à Lasco among the foreign divines settled in England, had made themselves specially conspicuous by their fierce denunciation of the traditional custom. To kneel at the sacrament seemed to them the formal recognition of that supernatural change in the elements which was the grossest superstition in the teaching of Rome. On the other hand, Cranmer and

¹ *Council Book*, 26th September 1552. The entry implies that the sale had commenced.

Ridley, holding the same doctrine of the Eucharist as Hooper and à Lasco, preferred to retain the gesture of kneeling, as implying no compromise with idolatry, and as the most seemly expression of the mental attitude of the communicant. As the chief author of the Second Prayer Book, therefore, Cranmer of set purpose inserted the rubric on kneeling in the teeth of the majority who so bitterly opposed it.

It was the legitimate issue of Knox's unflinching logic that he should regard the gesture of kneeling as a compromise with superstition that must inevitably lead to the ruin of true religion. The sermon in which he gave utterance to this conviction before the Court has not come down to us ; but from a document presently to be mentioned we learn what were his main objections to this sinister rubric. In the first place, and chiefly, the posture of kneeling had no warrant in Scripture ; secondly, it was a snare to weak brethren, who might misconstrue it to their spiritual disaster ; and thirdly, it was an inconsistent concession to idolatrous usage, which the followers of Rome might justly fling in the teeth of those who professed to have rid themselves of all superstition. It will be seen, therefore, that the topic was one on which Knox must needs have spoken with all the fervour of conviction that was in him. But the events that followed are the best comment on the power of his oratory.

On the 26th September, about the date, therefore, when Knox's sermon was preached, Grafton the printer received an Order of Council "to stay in any wise from altering any of the book of the new service. . . . until certain faults therein be corrected."¹ About the same date the Council wrote to Cranmer requesting

¹ *Ibid.* 26th September 1552.

him to read over the book with care, to give special heed to the rubric on kneeling, and recommending him to take Ridley and Peter Martyr into his counsels.¹ Replying on the 7th of October, Cranmer expressed the opinion that the objection to kneeling was a groundless scruple, opposed to the spirit of becoming religious service.² For whatever reason, his opinion was set aside. On the 27th of October, three days before the book was to come into use, the Council issued an Order which practically yielded the ground to the remonstrants.³ The offending prescription was retained; but a declaration, afterwards known as the Black Rubric, was appended, which satisfied to the full the scruples of Knox and his fellow-protesters. "I had once a good opinion of the Book,"⁴ Knox wrote some three years later; and he had good grounds for his satisfaction. In the following sentences, inserted, as we are bound to think, mainly through his own unflinching protest, it must have seemed to him that the last stronghold of superstition had been carried, and that the Church of England was for ever anchored in the faith of the apostles. "For as concerning the sacramental bread and wine, they remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored, for that were Idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians. And as concerning the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ, they are in heaven and not here. For it is against the truth of Christ's true natural body to be in more places than

¹ This letter is implied in Cranmer's answer.

² *State Papers*, Edward VI. vol. xv.

³ "A letter to the Lord Chancellor to cause to be joined unto the Book of Common Prayer, lately set forth, a certain Declaration signed by the King's Majesty, and sent unto his lordship, touching the kneeling at the receiving of the Communion."—*Council Book*, 27th October.

⁴ *Works*, iv. 43.

in one at one time.”¹ But that absolute logic, which was at once the strength and weakness of Knox’s religious creed, is essentially opposed to the inherent tendencies of the English Church. Springing out of a larger national life, the English Church in its schism from Rome could not be pinned to the inflexible dogmas of the reformed Church of Scotland. At the accession of Elizabeth the “Black Rubric” and the portion of the article to which it referred were struck out with the object of conciliating the Catholics. In 1662, with a view to meet the scruples of the Puritans, it was again restored, and it now remains as a rock of offence to that section of the Church of England which looks to an idealised mediæval Church as the highest development of Christianity.

But the story of Knox’s influence on the formularies of the Church of England is not yet complete. While the Second Prayer Book was being modified to meet the wishes of the more ardent of the reformers, another document was being subjected to a similar ordeal. Since the year 1549² Cranmer had been engaged in the preparation of a series of articles which, embodying the new creed of the Church of England, should “roote out the discord of opinions, and stablish the agreement of trew religion.”³ These articles, forty-five in number, but successively reduced to forty-two and thirty-nine, were now submitted (October 1552) for the approval of the King and the Council. By the Council they were next referred to the King’s chaplains,⁴ one

¹ *Liturgies of Edward VI.* (Parker Society), p. 283.

² Hooper to Bullinger, 27th December 1549, *Orig. Letters*, pp. 71, 72.

³ *Liturgies of Edward VI.* p. 486.

⁴ 21st October. “A letter to Mr. Harley, Mr. Bill, Mr. Horne, Mr. Grindal, Mr. Perne, and Mr. Knox, to consider certain articles exhibited

of whose functions was to license books for publication. In this Order six preachers are specified, Knox's name appearing last in the list.¹ Like the Second Prayer Book the articles must have received his general approval, since his signature, along with those of his colleagues, appears in the draft which they returned to the Council.² But there was one expression in the articles against which he was in consistency bound to raise his protest. In the thirty-eighth article (afterwards the thirty-fifth) it was expressly stated that the *ceremonies* enjoined in the new Prayer Book were in full accord with evangelical liberty.³ As one of these ceremonies, however, was that very gesture of kneeling against which he had so vehemently protested, the victory would be but half gained if this clause should be allowed to pass. Accordingly, before the 27th of October, Knox and certain of his colleagues of the same mind as himself, drew up a "Confession," in which they placed before the Council their objection to the practice of kneeling at the Communion.⁴ As we have seen, one result of Knox's efforts was the declaration appended to the Rubric on kneeling. In the

to the King's Ma[jes]tie, to be subscribed to by all such as shall be admitted to be Preachers or ministers in any part of the Realm, and to report of their opinions touching the same" (*Council Book*). Dr. Lorimer (*Knox and the Church of England*, p. 108) dates this Order the 20th October, which Canon Dixon has shown to be erroneous.

¹ *Works*, vi. p. xxix.

² *State Papers*, Edward VI. 21st October.

³ Liber qui nuperrime auctoritate Regis et Parlamenti Ecclesiae Anglicanae traditus est, continens modum et formam orandi et sacramenta administrandi in Ecclesia Anglicana, similiter et libellus ille eadem auctoritate editus de ordinatione ministrorum Ecclesiae, quoad doctrinae veritatem pii sunt, et *quoad ceremoniarum rationem salutaris evangelii libertati*, si ex sua natura ceremoniae illae estimentur, in nullo repugnant sed probe congruunt, etc.

⁴ Lorimer, *Knox and the Church of England*, p. 267 *et seq.* Dr. Lorimer found this interesting document in the Morrice Collection, and has printed it entire.

case of the Articles he equally triumphed ; for when they appeared the following year, the clause regarding ceremonies was not among them. It may be surmised that in the reduction of their number to forty-two, and other slight modifications, Knox also may have had some share. But however this may be, the leading part he played in the matter of kneeling at the Communion cannot be overlooked in taking account of his place among the agents of the religious revolution in England.¹

¹ At "Latimer's Disputation" at Oxford in 1554, Dr. Weston, one of his opponents, used these disrespectful words with reference to Knox : "A runagate Scot did take away the adoration or worshipping of Christ in the sacrament (*i.e.* the consecrated host), by whose procurement that heresy was put into the last Communion Book ; so much prevailed that one man's authority at that time."—Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vi. 510 (edit. 1846). The editor erroneously identifies the "runagate Scot" with Alexander Alesius.

CHAPTER III

LAST YEARS IN ENGLAND

1552-1554

KNOX appears to have remained in London till the close of 1552, mainly occupied, as we may suppose, by his duties as preacher before the king. As he had to preach twice or thrice in the week, and as three or four hours was the ordinary length of the sermons of the time,¹ his duties were sufficiently exacting. While he was thus engaged in London, he did not lose sight of his former congregation in Berwick. In a long letter he now addressed to them, he offers his counsel as to the course it would become them to pursue in the troubles that were surely awaiting them. On the special subject of kneeling at Communion he gave them more moderate advice than we might have expected from his keen convictions on the subject.² As the appended rubric made it clear that no adoration of the elements was implied in the posture, he advises them under the circumstances to obey the law. While Knox gave this advice to others, however, he was less temporising in his own person ; for, as we shall see, it

¹ "And what," says Latimer in one of his sermons, "and if I should say nothing else these three or four hours, for I know it will be so long, in case I be not commanded to the contrary."

² *Letter to the Congregation at Berwick*, Lorimer, p. 262.

was not long before he found himself in trouble for refusing to conform on this very point. It would appear also that certain ill-natured tales regarding himself had lately been current in Berwick.¹ His intercourse with great people in London, and possibly the rumour of the offer of the bishopric of Rochester, had been the occasion for prating tongues to say that he had been unduly elated by his new surroundings. To this talk Knox makes reply in brief and dignified fashion. "This day I am more vile and of low reputation in my awin ees than I was either that day that my feitt was cheyned in the preson of dolor (the galeis I meane), or yit that day that I was delivered by his only providence from the same. Ffor better now I am taucht of my awin infirmitie which, as it compelleth me frequenlie to grone, so (God be praised) it is a skourge and bridell that administreth me never to glorie in fleshe."²

By the close of the year Knox was again in Newcastle, for it was there, as we have seen, that he preached the sermon on Christmas Day which may have occasioned his trouble with Lord Wharton and Sir Robert Brandling. In Newcastle he remained till Easter of 1553, though in the course of his duties he made frequent visits to other parts of the country. As his letters indicate, his labours often went beyond his strength; and made him long for a repose which his sense of the importance of his mission would never allow him. "The pane of my heid and stomock," he writes from Newcastle, "trubillis me greitlie; daylie I find my brain decay, but the providence of God sall not be frustrat."³

¹ *Letter to the Congregation at Berwick*, Lorimer, pp. 259, 260.

² *Ibid.* p. 260.

³ *Works*, iii. 351.

When Knox had come north at the close of the preceding year, he had been on excellent terms with those in authority. A letter from the Privy Council had gone before him, specially commending him to the good offices of Lord Wharton.¹ So complete was Knox's restoration to favour, indeed, that on the 2nd of February 1553 the Council further recommended him to Cranmer for promotion to the vicarage of Allhallows in Bread Street.² As in the case of the bishopric Knox again refused the offer, and, as it turned out, without due heed to his personal comfort. Within two months he was again in difficulties which threatened the gravest consequences. As he is our sole authority he may be left to speak for himself. "Urgent necessitie," he writes to Mrs. Bowes from Newcastle, "will not suffer that I satisfie my mynd unto you. My Lord of Westmureland³ has written unto me this Wednesday, at sex of the clok at nyght, immedeatlie thairefter to repair unto him, as I will answeir at my perrell." As we learn from another letter to Mrs. Bowes, Knox was in London on the 1st of March,⁴ and though in this letter he makes no reference to the circumstance, we may infer that his visit was connected with the threat of Westmoreland. On 23rd March he writes as follows to Mrs. Bowes from Newcastle. "Luke farther of this matter in the othir letter,⁵ written unto yow at sic tyme as many

¹ Strype, *Memorials of Cranmer*, Book ii. chap. 33, p. 292 (edit. 1694).

² "A lettre to the Archebushop of Caunterbury in favour of Mr. Knokes, to be presented to the Vicaredge or Personage of Allhallowes, in Bredstrete, in his Lordship's disposition, by the preferment of Thomas Sampson to the Deanry of Chichester."—*Council Book*, 2nd February 1553.

³ Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. part ii. pp. 160, 161. Westmoreland was a member of the Privy Council, and Lord-lieutenant of the bishopric of Durham.

⁴ *Works*, iii. 380.

⁵ Referring to the letter just quoted.

thocht I never suld wryt efter to man. Haynous wer the delationis laid aganis me, and many ar the leis that ar maid to the Consall. But God ane day sall distroy all leying toungis, and sall delyver his servandis frome calamitie. I luke but ane day or uthir to fall in thair handis; for mair and mair rageth the memberis of the Devill aganis me. This assault of Sathan has bene to his confusioun, and to the glorie of God. And thairfor, sister,¹ ceas not to prais God and to call for my comfort; for greit is the multitude of enemyis, whome everie ane the Lord sall confound.”² From this letter it would seem that Knox had once more triumphed, and that he had been permitted to return to his charge in the north. Within a month he was again in difficulties, as is proved by a letter the purport of which is thus given by Calderwood.

“In a letter, dated the 14th of April 1553, and written with his own hand, I find that he was called before the Council of England for kneeling, who demanded of him three questions. First, Why he refused the benefice³ provided for him? Secondly, Whether he thought that no Christian might serve in the ecclesiastical ministration according to the rites and laws of the realme of England? Thirdly, If kneeling at the Lord’s Table was not indifferent?”

To the first he answered, That his conscience did witness that he might profit more in some other place than in London; and therefore had no pleasure to accept any office in the same. Howbeit he might have answered otherwise, that he refused that parsonage

¹ Knox addresses Mrs. Bowes sometimes as “sister” and at other times as “mother.”

² *Works*, iii. 364.

³ The reference must be to the vicarage of Allhallows and not to the bishopric of Rochester.

because of my Lord of Northumberland's command.¹ To the second, That many things were worthy of reformation in England; without the reformation whereof, no minister did discharge or could discharge his conscience before God; for no minister in England had authority to divide and separate the lepers from the heal,² which was a chief point of his office;³ yet did he not refuse such office as might appear to promote God's glory in utterance of Christ's gospel in a mean degree, where more he might edify by preaching of the true Word than hinder by sufferance of manifest iniquity, seeing that reformation of manners did not appertain to all ministers. To the third he answered, That Christ's action in itself was most perfect, and Christ's action was done without kneeling; that it was most sure to follow the example of Christ, whose action was done sitting and not kneeling."⁴

In spite of all this friction, however, Knox never seems to have been suspended from his office as licensed preacher. During Easter of this year it once more fell to him to preach before the Court. It was the last time he was to have the opportunity, and with everybody else he fully realised that the country was

¹ It is not quite clear why Northumberland should have opposed the promotion of Knox to Allhallows, as it would at least have served his object of removing Knox from the north. But the difficulty may lie in Calderwood's turning of Knox's phrase.

² The whole or sound.

³ Cf. the following sentences from Bishop Burnet. "The want of public penance, and penitentiary canons, is, indeed, a very great defect: our Church does not deny it, but acknowledges it in the preface to the Office of Communion. It was one of the greatest glories of the primitive church, that they were so governed, that none of their number could sin openly without public censures, and a long separation from the Holy Communion." Knox took good care that the Reformed Church of Scotland did not suffer from this defect.

⁴ Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland*. The original letter of Knox has not been preserved.

on the eve of a revolution. The health of the king was now so precarious that the accession of Mary was the outstanding event in the political situation. For the vast majority of the people, this was an event to which they looked with the confident hope of happier destinies for church and commonwealth alike. In view of the whole character of his policy, Northumberland could see only ruin before him should the wishes of the people be fulfilled. When Knox was preaching his Easter sermons, Northumberland was already deep in his conspiracy to supplant Mary, and substitute Lady Jane Grey, bound to him by marriage with his son, Lord Guildford Dudley. As the Duke's intentions were known to everybody, it was with growing anxiety that men waited the issue of events which could not be long delayed. For men like Knox the crisis was one which baffled all their calculations, and filled them with a blank dismay that found utterance only in wild denunciation and futile prophecy. If Mary should come to her rights, her known attachment to the old religion left them no hope that the reforms of Edward's reign would be allowed to stand any longer than policy would dictate. On the other hand, Knox, at least, regarded Northumberland with such profound distrust that he could not but hesitate to lend him his support even when he professed such zeal in the cause of religion.

In letters which he afterwards addressed to his different congregations in England, there are frequent references to his feelings at this period, which prove how completely he had identified himself with the hopes and fears of the English people. "Oft revolving," he writes in one passage, "how God hes usit my tounge (my tounge, I say, the maist wicked as of

myself) planelie to speik the trubillis that are cum, oft occurris to my mynd a certane Admonitioun that God wald I commonlie use in all congregations: The Admonitioun wes this, that the last Trumpet wes then in blawing within the realme of England, and thairfoir aucht everie man to prepair himself for battell.”¹ If denunciation of sin in high places, and warnings of judgment to come, could have saved the country, these were certainly not wanting in the last critical weeks of Edward’s reign. Knox himself has related how in his own hearing the most notable preachers in England, Grindal, Lever, Bradford, and Haddon, “spared not the proudest” in their sermons before the Court.² But none of them could have gone beyond Knox in the audacity of his sallies, as none of them certainly equalled him in the command of the whole vocabulary of withering rebuke and passionate adjuration. As an illustration at once of Knox’s style, and the state of things which made such speech possible, a few sentences may be quoted from the last sermon which he preached before Edward.

“And who, I pray you, ruled the roste in the courte all this tyme, by stoute corage and proudnes of stomack, but Northumberland? But who, I pray you, under Kynge Edward, ruled al by counsel and wyt? Shall I name the man? I wil wryte no more plainly now then my tounge spake, the laste sermon that it pleased God that I should make before that innocent and most godly kynge, Edward the Syxte, and before his counsell at Westminster, and even to the faces of suche as of whom I ment. . . . I recited the histories of Achitophel, Sobna, and Judas; of whom the two former had hyghe offices and promotions, with great authoritie, under

¹ *Works*, iii. 205.

² *Ibid.* p. 176.

the moste godly princes David and Ezechias; and Judas was purse-maister with Christ Jesus. . . . Was David, sayd I, and Ezechias, princes of great and godly giftes and experience, abused by crafty counsailers and dissembling hypocrites? What wonder is it, then, that a yonge and innocent kinge be deceived by craftye, covetouse, wycked, and ungodly counselours? I am greatly afayrd, that Achitophel be counsailer, that Judas beare the purse, and that Sobna be scribe, comptroller, and treasurer.”¹

Reading such outpourings, we naturally wonder how the objects of them permitted such liberty of speech to orators who were their own nominees. As we learn from Knox, however, the leading courtiers saved their feelings by simply absenting themselves when disagreeable things were likely to be said of them. Moreover, it was not Northumberland's policy to alienate the more aggressive party of the reformers. That the Council yielded to their scruples in the question of kneeling, can assuredly not be set down to conscientious scruples on their own part. On this point, as in respect of the privilege of plain speaking, Northumberland gave way because those who raised the scruples were the only party in the country on whose support he could reasonably count in his coming trial of strength with Mary. However they might question his own religious sincerity, their dread of a return to the ancient superstition was a potent motive in determining the side they would have to choose. Yet, when all this has been said, the fact remains that the preachers spoke at their peril when

¹ *Works*, iii. 280-282. By Achitophel Knox meant Northumberland, and by Sobna (Shebna) Paulet, Marquis of Winchester. It is not quite clear with whom he identified Judas.

they challenged the conduct of those in authority. Latimer, one of the boldest of them, more than once states that his censures of the great put him in serious danger, and Knox distinctly implies that it was only the sense of his duty as a faithful preacher that gave him courage to speak as he did when occasion presented.

During the remainder of his abode in England, Knox seems to have been kept in constant movement throughout the length and breadth of the country. On leaving Court he proceeded, not to his old district in the north, but to the county of Buckingham, to which the Council now transferred his services.¹ Here, with the interruption of at least one visit to London, he remained till after the death of Edward, and through the days of the struggle between Northumberland and Mary. To this crisis, so memorable in its bearing on his own fortunes and the cause to which he was sworn, he makes reference in a passage which is as fine a specimen as we can produce of Knox's most impressive manner. As he himself indicates, the sermon was delivered in Amersham, then, according to Leland's quaint description, "a right pretty Market town on Fryday."²

"In wrytyng herof³ it came to mynde, that after the death of that innocent and most godlye kynge, Edward the Sixte, whyle that great tumulte was in Englande for the establyshyng of that moste unhappye and wycked Womane's authoritie (I mean of her that

¹ *At Grenewiche, the 2nd of June 1553.* "A letter to the Lord Russell, Lord Windesour, the Justices of Peace, and the rest of the gentlemen within the Countie of Buckingham, in favour of Mr. Knockes, the preacher according to the minute."—*Council Book*.

² Leland, *Itinerary*, iv. 123 (edit. 1744).

³ He has been discoursing of the blindness of the people of Jerusalem to the warnings of Jeremiah.

nowe raigneth in Goddes wrath), entreating the same argument in a towne in Buckinghamshyre, named Hammershame, before a great congregation, with sorowful herte and wepyng eyes, I fel into this exclamation: "O Englande! now is Goddes wrath kyndled againste thee. Now hath he begonne to punyshe, as he hath threatened a longe whyle, by his true prophetes and messengers. He hath taken from thee the crowne of thy glorie, and hathe lefte thee without honoure as a bodye without a heade. And this appeareth to be onely the begynnynge of sorowes, whiche appeareth to encrease. For I perceave that the herte, the tounge, and the hande of one Englyshe man is bente agaynst another, and devision to be in the whole realme, whiche is an assured signe of desolation to come. O England, Englande! doest thou not consider that thy common wealth is lyke a shippe sailyng on the sea; yf thy maryners and governours shall one consume another, shalte thou not suffer shipwracke in shorte processe of tyme? O Englande, Englande, alas! these plagues are powred upon thee, for that thou woldest not knowe the most happy tyme of thy gentle visitation. But wylte thou yet obey the voyce of thy God, and submitte thy selfe to his holy wordes? Truely, yf thou wilt, thou shalte fynde mercye in his syght, and the estate of thy common wealth shall be preserved."¹

By the end of July he had left Buckinghamshire and was settled in London, for we learn from himself that he was one of the spectators of Mary's triumph, and that he did not miss the occasion of rebuking the misguided joy of the populace. In London he possessed, what indeed he never seems to have lacked,

¹ *Works*, iii. 307, 308.

a circle of sympathetic admirers, who thought it a privilege to do good offices to one whom they regarded as the special instrument of Heaven. Of the many friends he possessed in the city¹ two women were specially bound to him by ties of religious sympathy, Mrs. Locke and Mrs. Hickman, "Merchandis Wyffis in Londoun."² If we may judge from the letters he afterwards addressed to her, Mrs. Locke filled the larger place in his thoughts, and it was probably with her and her husband at their house "nygh to Bow Kirk, in Cheapsyd," that he resided during his visits to London. In this familiar circle Knox would find the repose and encouragement which, as we have seen, was a necessity of his despondent and restless nature.

But by this date London was hardly a safe place for one so well known as Knox by his doings during the last reign. At the end of July we next come upon him as far north as Carlisle, busy as ever at his old work of preaching.³ It was now at his peril, however, that he uttered a word against the old religion. It was only by degrees that Mary felt her way to the religious policy which was to give her reign its sinister repute in the tradition of the English people; but she had already shown in what direction her wishes lay. On the 16th of August a proclamation was issued granting temporary toleration, but "forbidding her Protestant and Catholic subjects to interrupt each other's services, and prohibiting at the same time all preaching on either side without licence from herself." From the 16th of August, therefore, Knox held no official authority to intrude himself on any audience that might be unwilling to listen to him. As he

¹ *Works*, iv. 220.

² *Ibid.* p. 219.

³ *Ibid.* iii. 360, 365.

continued to preach, we must conclude that he still found approving congregations in different parts of the country. On the 22nd of September he writes to Mrs. Bowes from London that he had returned from Kent where he had been labouring before he had received her last letter.¹ Even in London he still continued to preach, for in the same letter he speaks of "my greit labouris, whearon I desyre youre dailie prayers." On the 6th of November he was still in London, though by that date the Catholic reaction was almost complete. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were in the Tower; mass was restored in all the churches, and the queen's marriage with Philip of Spain was already filling men's minds with gloomy forebodings of a reign more shameful and disastrous than that to which it had succeeded. To Knox all this was the return of the old enemy with a legion of spirits tenfold more execrable than himself. But to his public griefs at this time were added certain private troubles which touched his proud spirit to the quick. Throughout all his toils and wanderings he had been in constant communication with Mrs. Bowes and her daughter Marjory, with both of whom, as we have seen, he had formed a warm friendship during his residence in Berwick. About the date at which we have arrived he had apparently the desire of forming a closer union with her daughter; and in the following passage of a letter to Mrs. Bowes he gives the results of his attempt to bring matters to a point:—

"Deir Mother, sa may and will I call yow, not onlie for the tender affectioun I beir unto yow in Chryst, but also, for the motherlie kyndnes ye haif schawn unto me at all tymes since oure first acquaintance, albeit sic

¹ *Works*, iii. 374-376.

things as I have desyrit (gif sic had pleasit God), and ye and utheris have lang desyrit,¹ ar never lyke to cum to pas; yit sall ye be sure, that my lufe and cair toward yow sall never abait, sa lang as I can cair for any erthlie creature. Ye sall understand, that this 6 of November, I spak with Sir Robert Bowis² in the matter ye knaw, according to youre requeist; whois disdanefull, yea, dispytfull, wordis hath sa persit my hart, that my lyfe is bitter unto me. I beir a gud countenance with a sair trublit hart, whill that he that oucht to considder matters with a deip judgement, is becum in not onlie a dispyser, but also a taunter of Goddis messingeris (God be mercifull unto him!). Amangis utheris his maist unpleasing words, whill that I was about to have declarit my hart in the haill matter, he said, ‘Away with youre rethorickall reassonis! for I will not be persuadit with thame.’ God knawis, I did use no rethorick nor collourit speach; but wald haif spokin the treuth, and that in maist simpill maner. I am not a gud oratour in my awn caus; but what he wald not be content to heir of me, God sall declair to him a day till his displeasure, unles he repent. It is supponit that all the matter cumis by yow and me. I pray God that youre conscience wer quyet and at peace; and I regaird not what countrey consume this my wickit carkas; and war not that na manis unthankfulnes sall move me (God supporting my infirmitie) to ceas to do profit unto Chrystis congregatioun, that dayis wald be few that Ingland suld gif me breid.”³

We can understand the distaste with which men like Captain and Sir Robert Bowes would regard a

¹ Namely, his marriage with her daughter.

² Mrs. Bowes’s brother-in-law.

³ *Works*, iii. 378.

union between any member of their family and a mere "runagate Scot," as they doubtless regarded Knox. Family pride and their sympathy with the old ways were obstacles which Knox's notorious opinions must in any case have rendered insuperable. Moreover, at the present moment any association with a person with Knox's record would have been in the highest degree impolitic for such a respectable family as that of the Bowes. It was not only that Knox's fortunes were now at the lowest ebb. Under the new counsels that prevailed in the country, he was not only in imminent danger himself, but he would compromise the interests of all who were in any way associated with him. Out of the needs of their own conscience, however, the two women, who now clung to him at the moment when his fortunes were most desperate, had become bound to Knox by ties that could not be broken without the ruin of that spiritual life which they had mainly owed to him. As we shall see, both mother and daughter eventually chose rather to follow Knox into exile than submit to the loss of his guidance and the abandonment of the beliefs which they had learned through his counsels.

Every day longer that Knox remained in England now increased his peril. It was doubtless with the view of lessening his personal risk that at the close of this year he again returned to the north. From Newcastle, on the 22nd December, he writes to Mrs. Bowes at Berwick, "with trubled hart and weak bodie."¹ In the course of twelve days he hopes to come to Berwick, though, when he remembers how his visit will be received by certain persons there, he is almost disposed not to come at all. Another letter,²

¹ *Works*, iii. 355.

² *Ibid.* pp. 369-372.

apparently written in the following month, completes our knowledge of his sojourn in England. From this letter we learn that it was full time he was beyond the reach of those now in authority. Certain letters which his servant carried from him to Mrs. Bowes were seized by the way, probably under the impression that they might contain some treasonable matter. Fortunately for Knox they were almost solely taken up with the religious advice which he was in the habit of supplying to Mrs. Bowes. Learning the fate of his letters, he set out for Berwick, partly to reassure Mrs. Bowes, and partly to see her daughter, whom he now plainly speaks of as his wife. So closely was he watched that it was only with the utmost caution that his friends conveyed him from one place to another. For himself, he assures her, he is willing to make answer for anything that could be laid to his charge, convinced that he could never die "in a more honest quarrel." Only the tears and entreaties of his friends had stayed him from accomplishing the journey he had begun, and forced him to seek a temporary hiding-place. It will be no fault of his, he adds, if they do not soon hear of his place of refuge, and receive further news of him.

As far as we know, Knox had to leave England without again seeing either Mrs. Bowes or her daughter; but before quitting the country he sent her a parting gift, admirably fitted to reconcile the mother at least to the loss of her spiritual adviser. This was the exposition of the sixth Psalm, which he sent her in two instalments, one on the 6th of January 1554,¹ and the other on the 28th of the following month.² In sending the latter instalment he tells her that he is on the very point of leaving England, uncertain if they

¹ *Ibid.* iii. 133.

² *Ibid.* p. 156.

will ever meet again on earth. At the same time, she is not to take this remark in ill part, for if life and health permit, he will spare no effort to see her within a shorter interval than has passed since their last interview. In the beginning of March¹ he sailed for Dieppe, and, save for one short visit many years later, never again made his home in England.

The record just given of Knox's work in England must have made it sufficiently clear that, go where he might, his place must always be where the fray was hottest. It must also be plain that these years in England were a period of discipline which he could not well have missed in view of the crowning work that awaited him in his native country. As far as his personal fortune was concerned, he left England in as poor estate as he had entered it. From a letter to Mrs. Bowes already quoted, and written shortly before his departure for the Continent, we learn what was the precise condition of his fortunes. "I will not make you privy how rich I am, but off London I departed with less money than ten groats; but God has since provided, and will provide, I doubt not, hereafter abundantly for this life. Either the Queen's Majesty or some treasurer will be forty pounds² richer by me, for so much lack I of duty of my patents."³

¹ M'Crie makes him land in Dieppe on the 28th of January, and Lorimer (probably by a misprint) on the 20th of the same month. But as he was still in England on the last of February (*Works*, iii. 156) he could not have been in France before the beginning of March.

² This was his annual salary as one of the king's chaplains.

³ *Works*, iii. 372.

BOOK III

KNOX ON THE CONTINENT

1554-1559

CHAPTER I

FIRST INTERCOURSE WITH CALVIN

1554

THUS, with less than ten groats to call his own, and baffled in all the wishes that lay nearest his heart, Knox found himself again on the Continent. He was in his forty-eighth year, an age which in the sixteenth century implied that the burden and heat of the day must now be left to others. On the verge of old age, with uncertain health, penniless, separated from friends with whom he had been on the point of making a settled home, Knox's personal prospects were as gloomy as they could well be. That he felt the cheerlessness of his outlook his letters at this period leave us no room for doubt.¹ But what lay heaviest on his spirits was no selfish concern regarding his own precarious future. It was the incontrovertible fact, that for the time at least the armies of Satan were triumphing on every hand. He did his best to console himself and the rest of the faithful with the scriptural promises as to the speedy term of the wicked; but, meanwhile, that both in England and Scotland the door was closed to any faithful preaching was a trial to men's faith, which must have the most disastrous

¹ Cf. *Works*, iii. 215.

results for many who as yet walked with but feeble steps in the new way.

In the great continental countries the prospect was even less encouraging than at home. The king now reigning in France, Henry II., had set himself from the first to stamp out the new religion in his dominions,—the *chambre ardente* and the Edict of Chateaubriand (1551) being expressly designed to compass this end. In Dieppe, where, as we shall see, Knox afterwards preached with remarkable results, it was said that not a single Protestant was to be found.¹ In Germany the triumph of Prince Maurice over the Emperor Charles had resulted in the Peace of Passau (1552), which restored to the Protestants the liberty of worship of which they had been deprived by the famous Interim. At an earlier period, Knox had some thoughts of visiting the schools of Germany for his further instruction in letters and religion; but, with the opinions he now held, German Protestantism seemed but little nearer the truth than the religion of Rome herself. What made the Continent still less inviting, the wars between France and the Emperor had recommenced with greater fury than ever since the death of Francis I. At the date when Knox arrived in Dieppe, the armies of France were traversing the country to meet the Emperor's troops on the borders of the Low Countries. There was, in truth, but one spot on all the Continent to which Knox could look with any hope of finding a settled home, and a sphere where his gifts might be turned to some profit till better days should come.

In Dieppe on this occasion Knox remained only a

¹ This was said to Mary of Lorraine on her passing through Dieppe in 1551.—Vitet, *Histoire des anciennes Villes de France*, i. 95 note, Paris, 1833.

few days, spending the time in completing a letter to his various flocks in England.¹ His main object in this letter, as in others of the same kind that followed it, was to counsel them to hold fast their faith, to make no compromise with their conscience, and to abide in the hope that their day of deliverance was not far off. As was his invariable custom, he showed them that their present case had its precise parallel in the history of God's ancient people. "Now, I appele to the conscience of any indifferent² man," he says, "in what ane poynt differis the maneris, estait, and regiment of England this day from the abuse and estait rehersit of Juda in theis dayis, except that they had a king, a man of his awin nature (as appeirit), mair facill nor cruell, who sumtymes was intreatit in the Prophetis favouris, and also in sum caisis heard his consall. And ye haif a Quene, a woman of a stout stomak, more styffe in opinioun nor flexible to the veritie, who no wyse may abyde the presence of Godis prophets."³ To complete the parallel, in his own warnings they had heard the same voice that had spoken by Jeremiah to the people of Israel, and it was in the decrees of God that the same sins should be followed by the same retribution. But the chief points on which he offers counsel are the questions of attending mass and of obedience to the civil ruler. The first of these questions was one which the conditions of the time forced on the consideration of all the Protestant leaders. To abstain from the mass in Catholic countries meant death or exile: to counsel no compromise, therefore, was a responsibility from which timid chiefs like Melanchthon and Bucer might occasionally shrink. But men like

¹ "A Godly Letter to the Faithful in London."—*Works*, iii. 165.

² Impartial.

³ *Works*, iii. 187.

Knox and Calvin had no hesitation: to lend any countenance directly or indirectly to false doctrine or practice was to forfeit membership of the Church of Christ. The second question was one which did not admit of such a simple answer, for the reason that Scripture itself did not justify absolute conclusions. During the next six years we shall see this problem continually occupying the mind of Knox, and that he gradually arrived at more revolutionary opinions regarding the justice of rebellion when the national conscience is set aside by the prince.

The letter to which we have been referring closes with these words, "From ane sore trubillit heart, upon my departure from Deipe, whither God knoweth."¹ This last expression, however, was merely a lively form of speech. By all his instincts, as well as by the force of circumstance, Switzerland was his natural destination. In the beginning of March² he set out for Switzerland, where he remained till the following May. "I have travellit through all the congregationis of Helvetia," he says, "and hes reasonit with all the Pastouris, and many other excellentlie learnit men upon sic matters as now I cannot commit to wrytting."³ Of these "reasonings" we have the record of two which he held with the most illustrious Swiss reformers of the time, Calvin and Bullinger. Knox was already familiar with Calvin's writings, and held him in the highest esteem as one of the best inspired exponents of the deepest mysteries of the spirit. In the "Godly Letter" he had just sent to his friends in England he spoke of him as "that singular instrument of God, Johne Calvin."⁴ But, as will immediately be

¹ *Works*, iii. 215.

³ *Works*, iii. 235.

² See above, p. 148.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 201.

seen, he did not as yet defer to Calvin as he afterwards did when he came to be his fellow-minister in the church of Geneva. In truth, Calvin at this date (1554) had not yet attained that authority either in Geneva or the Protestant world generally which eventually made him the co-equal of the pope himself. Only the year before he had written that¹ "the church of God in this place [Geneva] is tossed about like the ark of Noah in the waters of the Deluge." By the close of the year Calvin's victory was assured; but at the time when Knox found him, it was still an open question which party should carry the day. When Knox laid his difficulties before Calvin, therefore, it was with a due sense of the weight due to his opinion, but, at the same time, with no intention of unconditionally bowing to his decision. They discussed freely and familiarly the problems he started, but Knox made no request to Calvin that he should make an authoritative statement on the points under discussion.²

After a short stay in Geneva, Knox passed to Zurich with a letter of introduction from Calvin to Bullinger.³ At this time the reputation of Bullinger was even higher than that of Calvin himself. The leaders of the English Reformation under Edward VI. had stood in closer relation to him than to Calvin. It was Bullinger rather than Calvin whom they had consulted in all their projects of reform in the doctrines and the government of the Church.⁴ To Bullinger,

¹ A. Roget, *Hist. du Peuple de Genève*, Tome Troisième, 2^{me} Livraison, p. 277.

² *Corpus Reformatorum*, xliii. 125.

³ *Ibid.* p. 90.

⁴ The *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation*, published by the Parker Society, prove this. The great majority of the letters of the English Reformers in that collection are addressed to Bullinger.

therefore, Knox naturally submitted those crucial questions which had been thrust upon him by the overthrow of all his hopes through the accession of Mary Tudor. It would appear that in Bullinger's case Knox requested categorical replies in writing to the points he laid before him. At least, a letter of Bullinger to Calvin has been preserved in which both questions and answers are given, and where he also states the circumstances under which he had been consulted.¹ As the questions submitted by Knox to Bullinger reveal the deepest searchings of his spirit at this period, they may be given here as an essential part of his biography.² It will afterwards be seen that all his writings produced during his exile mainly turn on points directly or indirectly connected with these very problems.

1. Whether the son of a king, upon his father's death, though unable by reason of his tender age to conduct the government of the kingdom, is nevertheless, by right of inheritance, to be regarded as a lawful magistrate, and as such to be obeyed as of divine right?³

2. Whether a female can preside over and rule a kingdom by divine right, and so transfer the right of sovereignty to her husband?⁴

3. Whether obedience is to be rendered to a

¹ *Corp. Ref.* xliii. 90-92.

² The translation of the questions is that given in the Parker Society Publication of Original Letters (p. 745).

³ It was maintained by men like Gardiner and Bonner, who were opposed to the Protestant tendencies in England, that the legislative changes made during the minority of Edward VI. were illegal. As this objection touched the lawfulness of all the religious reforms made during the reign of Edward, we see the reasons that prompted this question of Knox.

⁴ Knox was, therefore, already thinking of his *Blast against the Monstruous Regiment of Women*.

magistrate who enforces idolatry and condemns true religion ; and whether those authorities, who are still in military occupation of towns and fortresses, are permitted to repel this ungodly violence from themselves and their friends ?¹

4. To which party must godly persons attach themselves, in the case of a religious nobility resisting an idolatrous sovereign ?²

In accordance with the moderation of his character, Bullinger's answers were drawn up with a skill and prudence which gave little encouragement to any wild schemes against existing governments. The points raised, however, were so momentous in their bearings alike on Church and State that he communicated to Calvin both questions and answers. In reply Calvin states that Knox before his seeing Bullinger had consulted him on precisely the same points. Knox had again visited him on his return, and renewed the discussion ; but he had not insisted on any statement in writing.³ As for Bullinger's answers, Calvin says that they are virtually what he had himself given in the course of conversation, and he concludes his letter by thanking God for guiding their replies as wisely as if the question had a practical bearing for themselves. Knox listened to their counsels, but kept his own, all the while convinced, doubtless, that neither Bullinger nor Calvin fully realised what their opinions implied if carried to their legitimate conclusion. By the course of events, in-

¹ This question directly bore on the state of affairs both in England and Scotland.

² In putting this question Knox was thinking of Scotland rather than England. In a short time, a section of the Scottish nobility made overtures to Knox to come to their assistance in introducing the new religious opinions into Scotland.

³ *Corp. Ref.* xliii. 125.

deed, Calvin was in the end forced to the same conclusion as Knox regarding the rights of the people against their rulers. With the growth of Protestantism in France the same question arose for Calvin which was now presented in England and Scotland as ruled by Mary Tudor and Mary of Lorraine.

In May¹ Knox was again in Dieppe, probably to be as near as possible to his friends in England. As for any hope of return to that country, it was now further off than ever. Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer were all in prison; Sir Thomas Wyatt had been executed the preceding month; and Mary's approaching marriage with Philip of Spain must irrevocably restore England to Rome. All that he could do, therefore, was to address such words of comfort and admonition to the faithful in England as might enable them to make the most of their unhappy position. He would fain come to them, he said, were it not that his presence would endanger other lives besides his own.² In the meantime, their case should not lead them to despair, as more than once the church had passed through similar trials, only to emerge with higher graces than before. In the first of the two letters he now wrote, a sentence occurs which proves that he was not disposed to accept Bullinger's conservative opinions on the relations of Church and State. "But heirof be assureit," he writes, "that all is not lawfull nor just that is statute by Civile lawis, nether yet is everie thing syn befor God, whilk ungodlie personis alledgeis to be treasone."³ But as if dreading the tendency of such teaching, in his second letter he gives them calmer

¹ *Works*, iii. 236. Laing has pointed out that Dr. M'Crie was probably in error in supposing that Knox paid two distinct visits to Dieppe from Switzerland during the summer of 1554.—*Ibid.* p. 253.

² *Ibid.* iii. 235.

³ *Ibid.* p. 236.

advice. "But in the meane season, beloved Brethren, two things ye must avoid. The former, that ye presume not to be revengers of your own cause, but that ye resigne over vengeance to Him, who only is able to requite them, according to their malicious minds. Secondly, that ye hate not with any carnal hatred these blind, cruel, and malicious tiraunts."¹

Knox remained in Dieppe till the end of July, doubtless in constant communication with his own party in England, and hoping against hope that a way might open for his return to his labours in that country.² It was during these months of waiting that he wrote a pamphlet³ which of all his writings shows him in perhaps the most unamiable light. This was his "Faythfull admonition unto the professours of God's truthe in England," of which two editions appeared in the year 1554.⁴ In writing this pamphlet Knox had the double object of warning his followers against compromise and apostasy, and of denouncing Mary not only as the servant of Antichrist, but as a traitor to the liberties of England. In these opinions regarding the sinister tendencies of Mary's reign, Knox was at one with many persons of more moderate ways of thinking than himself. In restoring England to Rome she was reversing not only the religious but the

¹ *Ibid.* iii. 244.

² *Ibid.* p. 236. As we know, Knox, throughout his whole public life, was deep in the politics of his time. It is not improbable, therefore, that his prolonged stay in Dieppe may have had some connection with certain plots being hatched in France against Mary. We know that in Normandy at this time there were crowds of refugees ready to take advantage of every turn to effect a revolution in England. (Froude, *History of England*, chap. xxxi.) Knox's political principles would certainly not have deterred him from taking his part along with them.

³ The first edition bears the date, "Imprynted at Kalykow the 20 day of July 1554." Kalykow may be a fictitious name for Dieppe.

⁴ *Works*, i. 232, *note*.

political development of the country. By her marriage with Philip she went contrary even to the Catholic opinion of the country,¹ since all men saw that it was in the necessity of things that Philip would put England to his own uses. In its main contention, therefore, Knox's pamphlet was both reasonable and opportune: what throws discredit both on his temper and his wisdom is the spirit in which it was conceived, and the tone in which it was written. In reading the controversial literature of the sixteenth century it has never to be forgotten that modern canons of good taste were then equally unknown to theologians and scholars. In the ordinary conversation, as in the polemical literature, of the time, usage permitted a hardness of expression which was perfectly consistent with self-respect and even natural refinement. Casual words of the talk of queens and princesses of that age that have been reported, prove how entirely relative are the limits of self-respecting speech.² In controversy it was not only Luther and Calvin, but Melancthon and Cranmer, who spoke of their opponents in terms which curiously contrast with their natural moderation and sweetness of temper. Among scholars Erasmus, whose instincts naturally led him to the use of finer weapons, and Sir Thomas More, a scholar both of Plato and Christianity, wrote pages, which, tested by modern standards, would stamp the writers as outside disciplined human nature. In judging this performance of Knox, therefore, it is such

¹ Gardiner himself opposed it as long as he could.

² Sainte-Beuve, who had made a special study of the sixteenth century, has some interesting remarks on this subject in his article on Marguerite of Navarre (*Causeries du Lundi*, vii.). They are suggested by the curious contrast between her refined piety and the frequent licentiousness of tone in her *Contes et Nouvelles*.

pages of Erasmus and More we must bear in mind if we are to distinguish what is essential to the man from what was only the fashion of his age. It is the inevitable fate of men like Knox, however, that their words and deeds are torn from their context, and by a natural illusion tried by standards which would have astounded their contemporaries as much as themselves. And of all the men of his century it may be said that none has suffered more by this form of fallacy than Knox.

But when every allowance has been made, the fact remains that in no other production of Knox do we see in less favourable light at once his own individual character, the special type which he represents, and that conception of things to the furtherance of which he gave his life. In casting such a pamphlet into England at the time he did he indulged his indignation, in itself so natural under the circumstances, at no personal risk, while he seriously compromised those who had the strongest claims on his most generous consideration. As we shall see, it was afterwards made a reproach to him that his unmeasured language was the main cause of the executions for heresy which began shortly after the publication of his pamphlet. This was, of course, the exaggeration of theological rancour; but the very fact that the charge could be made, proves the inconsiderate zeal of Knox in speaking at the time and in the manner he did.

CHAPTER II

KNOX AND PURITANISM—THE FRANKFORT TROUBLES

1554-1555

By the middle of 1554 Mary's government was so firmly established that nothing was left for Knox but to accept the inevitable. About the end of July or the beginning of August,¹ therefore, he left Dieppe for Geneva, doubtless with the intention of remaining there till that day of deliverance which he so confidently announced for Scotland and England both. As yet there was no English colony at Geneva, so that no special duties were now laid upon him; and he was thus at leisure for the first time² to make himself personally acquainted with the character and aims of Calvin. Of their mutual relations it is here sufficient to say, that each found the other in vital union with himself on the deepest questions of their time. But this season of rest was to be a brief one. At the end of September Knox received a letter which launched him once more on a sea of troubles.

During the months that followed the accession of Mary, the confessors of the new religion had fled in

¹ Cf. *Works*, iii. 347. By this passage it is proved that Knox was in Dieppe till at least the 20th July.

² His previous visit to Geneva could have been only for a few days.

crowds to the Continent to seek the liberty denied at home of worshipping God according to their own conscience. At one time or other about eight hundred¹ of these exiles crossed the Channel and sought homes in Flanders, Upper Germany, Switzerland, and elsewhere.² It was at an unlucky moment that they were thus forced to throw themselves on the charity of the Protestant churches on the Continent. In 1552 the controversy on the Eucharist had been reopened with a violence that effaced every kindly feeling between the two great religious bodies who acknowledged Luther and Calvin as their respective heads.³ To have sound views as to the Real Presence was the indispensable passport for admission into every Protestant country. But the majority of the English refugees could give satisfaction neither to Luther nor Calvin on this all-important point; and the story of their adventures in search of a resting-place among their fellow-Christians is one of those pitiful chapters in church history which place in their most trying light the less noble tendencies of the religious spirit. Here we are mainly concerned with the fortunes of only one of these bodies of exiles, as directly bearing on the life and work of Knox.

Among those driven from England by the accession

¹ Burnet estimates the number at a thousand. In the Morrice MS., a copy of which Professor Mitchell kindly placed at my disposal, the number is put at above a thousand.

² Of the various congregations of these exiles it was said that Emden was the richest, Wesel was the shortest lived, Frankfort enjoyed the greatest privileges, Strassburg was the least disturbed by controversies, and that Zurich boasted the largest number of scholars.—Southerden Burn, *Livre des Anglois* (1831).

³ This controversy had been renewed by Joachim Westphal of Hamburg, whose book *Defensio adversus insignia mendacia Joannis à Lasco*, etc. (1557), roused Calvin to the defence of his own doctrine as laid down in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*.

of Mary was a congregation of Walloons, who had been settled in Glastonbury Abbey during the reign of Edward VI. Headed by their pastor Vallerand Pullain, they had first sought to settle in Denmark, and then at Hamburg; but in each case had been repulsed as heretics whose contamination might imperil the souls of the faithful. After applying successively to Rostock, Wismar, and Lübeck,¹ they at length gained permission to settle in Frankfort-on-the-Main. As one of the central cities of the Empire, Frankfort had known all the vicissitudes of the religious revolution of the last half-century. Zwingli and Luther had both found followers among its citizens;² but in 1552, mainly through the zeal of a preacher named Hartmann Beyer, Lutheranism had obtained a decided advantage.³ A distinguished magistrate of the town, however, Johann von Glauburg, had distinct Calvinistic leanings,⁴ and through his advocacy Pullain not only obtained admission into the city, but acquired the use of a church for the colony he had brought with him.⁵

¹ Gerdes, *Hist. Evang.* iii. 237.

² Herzog, *Real-Encyclopädie*, Art. "Frankfurt-am-Main, Reformation und evangelisches Kirchenwesen" (edit. 1855).

³ Steitz, *Der luth. Prädicant Hartmann Beyer. Ein Zeitbild aus Frankfurts Kirchengeschichte im Jahrhundert der Reformation* (Frankfurt, 1852); Schott, *Frankfurt als Herberge*, p. 27.

⁴ We gather this from his relations to the English in Frankfort, and from various letters in the *Corpus Reformatorum*, vol. xliii.

⁵ The Weissfrauenkirche, or Church of the White Ladies, which still exists. The Walloons were only twenty-four in number. Th. Schott, *Frankfurt als Herberge fremder protestantischen Flüchtlinge—Der Verein für Reformationgeschichte am Schluss seines ersten Trienniums*, p. 26. The Church of the White Ladies, which still exists, is thus described in a modern book on Frankfort: "Die jetzige Kirche wurde nach einer Inschrift am Gewölbe 1471 erneuert, ein einschiffiger spät-gothischer mit sechstheiligen Sternengewölben überdeckter Bau, mit zwei an der Nordseite gelegenen Seitencapellen und der Sacristei, beide mit dem Holzhausen'schen Wappen." *Frankfurt-am-Main, und seine Bauten*, herausgegeben vom Architekten und Ingenieur-

Pullain had thus attained his end ; but apparently not without a certain pious fraud, as it was not till after the privilege had been granted that the Lutheran preachers discovered that they had a Calvinist colony in their midst.¹

It was on the 19th of April that Pullain preached his first sermon in the church that had been assigned to him ; and in spite of his Calvinistic views on the Eucharist he appears to have secured a firm footing in the town. But the hospitality of Frankfort was soon to be tested still further. On the 27th of June there came a band of English exiles in four companies, led respectively by Edmund Sutton, William Williams, William Whittingham, and Thomas Hood. The very night of their arrival they received a visit from Pullain, who told them of the grace that had been shown him by the Councillors of the city. The strangers congratulated him ; but said that as few of their number knew French, they could profit little by his privilege. With the advice of Pullain and his colleagues, however, the Englishmen at once preferred a request to the Council that they might be permitted to settle in the city. Their prayer was granted, and on the 8th of the following month they made further request for a place where the English community might worship in their own tongue. Through the good offices of Glauburg this second supplication was received with equal favour. On alternate days and on Sundays they were allowed

Verein (1886), p. 115. The roof was burned in 1875 ; when an iron one with a bell-tower was put in its place.—*Ibid.*

¹ So in Steitz's article in Herzog ; but Anne Hooper, wife of Bishop Hooper, writing from Frankfort at the time in question says that "the senate has granted liberty to the foreign (*i.e.* the Walloon) church for their whole ecclesiastical ministry, both of the word and sacraments."—*Zur. Letters*, p. 110.

the use of the French church, with the condition that they should subscribe the French Confession of Faith, and accept generally the doctrines and ceremonies of the French congregation—the reason assigned for this condition being that internal dissension would be thus effectually precluded.¹ The English accepted the terms; but as in doctrine, discipline, and administration, the Church of the Walloons was virtually fashioned on the model of Geneva,² they thus threw to the winds the Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. Though their hands were thus tied, however, they were left so far at liberty that they were permitted to prepare a service for their own special use. Taking the English Prayer-Book, they modified it to meet the conditions on which they had accepted the privilege of public worship. The responses, the litany, and the surplice were disallowed; a new confession was substituted for that of the English Order; and after the confession

¹ The liturgy of the Walloons had been translated into Latin, and dedicated to Edward VI. in 1551 by Pullain, when they sought refuge in England on account of the Interim. For the conditions on which the use of the Church was granted, see Appendix A.

² There are some interesting remarks on the liturgy of the Walloons and its relations to those of other churches in Schröder's *Troisième Jubilé séculaire de la Fondation de l'Eglise Reformée française de Francfort*. Paris, Cherbuliez, rue de la Seine, 1854. I have to thank M. Weiss for the use of this French translation of Schröder's pamphlet, which is out of print. The liturgy which formed the basis of this temporary settlement was published during the year of which we are speaking (1554). Its title runs thus: "Liturgia Sacra, seu Ritus Ministerii in Ecclesia peregrinorum Francofordiae ad Moenum. Addita est summa doctrinae seu Fidei Professio ejusdem Ecclesiae. Psalm clxix. *Laudem Deo canite in Ecclesia Sanctorum*. Joan. I. *Veni et vide*. Francofordiae, 1554." The prefatory epistle is dated the Kalends of September 1554, and is signed by four of the French and four of the English exiles. This liturgy was republished the following year; but, for reasons which will presently appear, was on this occasion without the signatures of the English. There is a copy of the former edition in the University of Glasgow.

“a psalme in meetre in a plaine tune” was sung after the fashion of the French, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, and Scottish churches.

Such is the story of the origin of the English Church at Frankfort as told in the little book known as *A Brieff Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort in the Year 1554*.¹ The story is told by a partisan who had himself been in the thick of the controversy; but, thus far at least, there is no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of his narrative. Nevertheless, intentionally or unintentionally, he has passed over those very factors in the controversy that lift it out of a petty squabble into a cause of national importance in the religious development of England and Scotland. As a reason for the rejection of the English Order, the writer puts in the forefront the conditions imposed on the exiles by the magistrates of Frankfort. But the whole truth is, that for Whittingham and his friends this condition really met their own deepest aspirations after a Church purified from the additions of Rome. From the outset of the

¹ Printed in 1575, 1642, 1707, and 1846. It is the last edition I have used here. In the preface to this edition there is a communication from Dr. M'Crie in which he gives nine reasons for assigning the book to Whittingham. Mr. Froude (*Art. on the Marian Exiles*, *Edin. Rev.* vol. lxxxv. p. 424) and Canon Dixon (*Hist. of the Ch. of England*, iv. 689, *note*) do not think his arguments conclusive; and I may add that a passage in the life of Whittingham seems distinctly to imply that he was not the author. This life, which is among the Anthony Wood MSS. in the Bodleian, was first used by Mr. Froude, and afterwards published by Lorimer in the Appendix to his *John Knox and the Church of England*. The passage to which I refer is at p. 305. Speaking of the *Frankfort Troubles*, the writer has the expression “Of which controversy, though here be good occasion given to particulate, yet because the whole matter of that controversie is set forth in a large discourse in an ancient book, etc.” Had Whittingham been the author of the book, his biographer, who was well acquainted with all the facts of his life, and knew him personally, would hardly have expressed himself thus. This is not conclusive, but it outweighs all the arguments adduced by M'Crie.

religious revolution under Edward VI. there had been a party which had aimed at a Church Order on the model of Calvin's in Geneva. The principles of this party had been exemplified in an incident to which they themselves triumphantly referred, as a shining illustration of the essential difference between their own spirit and that of the party in power.¹ In 1550, on his appointment to the see of Gloucester, Hooper had refused to be consecrated in the usual form, specially objecting to the "rochet and robe." After a protracted controversy, ending in his being consigned to the Fleet, he yielded to the will of the majority on condition that after consecration he was to wear the surplice only if he chose. In this stand made by Hooper was signalised the attitude of the radical party among the English Reformers, who were now represented on the Continent by Whittingham and Knox. But in England this party had been so greatly outnumbered, that the changes effected under Edward VI. went but a little way to the fulfilment of their desires. In their new situation, however, an opportunity was offered of furthering their ends which they were not likely to neglect. It is clear, indeed, that from the first Whittingham and his party laid their plans with a distinct view to the eventual triumph of their principles, not only among the exiles on the Continent, but in the English nation at large when better days should come. Only by keeping this fact before us can we understand the full import of the incidents now to be related, and at the same time make due allowance for the unseemly exhibition of ill humours on the part of the leading actors.

Provided with a Church and a Church Order, the

¹ Cf. *Frankfort Troubles*, p. xlii., and Knox, *Works*, iv. 44.

English congregation at Frankfort at once took steps to induce the other exiles to join them. The privileges they had acquired and the central position of Frankfort¹ fully justified them in regarding their Church as the fitting place of assembly for all the English exiles. On the 2nd of August (1554) they addressed a general letter to their countrymen in Zurich, Strassburg, Wesel, Emden, and elsewhere, telling them of their good fortune, and exhorting them in the interest of religion itself to come to Frankfort at the earliest opportunity.² What is significant in this letter is, that it makes no mention of the decisive departure they had made from the Second Book of Edward. The reply of the exiles at Zurich³ revealed the chasm that disjoined the two parties. Their first and last question was, whether in the event of their coming they should be permitted the free use of their own standards.⁴ This attachment to their own service was now reinforced by reasons that appealed to the best instincts of man's nature. It was for their devotion to the Second Book of Edward that men like Ridley and Cranmer⁵ now lay in prison in England, and were soon to give their lives. Any slight on that book, therefore, was a slur on the cause for which these men had made themselves willing martyrs. To this letter from Zurich those of Frankfort replied on the 26th of September. Strangely enough

¹ At Frankfort all Christendom met twice a year on the occasion of its two great fairs. For students, the sale of books at these fairs made it a specially desirable residence.

² *Frankfort Troubles*, pp. viii.-xiii. This letter is signed by John Stanton, John Makebray (a Scot), William Williams, William Wittingham, William Hammon, Thomas Wood, Mighell Gill.

³ There are fourteen signatures attached to the letter from Zurich.

⁴ *F. T.* pp. xiii.-xvi.

⁵ There seems to have been an impression, however, that Cranmer would have changed the Second Prayer-Book as he had changed the first one, if he had had the opportunity.—*F. T.* p. 1.

they again pass by the main question at issue, but urge on their part that a union of the English abroad was in the best interests of religion at home. The answer from those at Zurich was to the same purport as before. They would gladly come to Frankfort if they had any assurance that they might worship according to their conscience. To effect an understanding, however, one of their number, Richard Chambers,¹ was sent with special instructions to discover the real state of things in the congregation at Frankfort. The result was what might have been expected. Chambers was informed that the full use of the English service could not be guaranteed, and he returned to Zurich bearing a letter to that effect. In this last letter those at Frankfort frankly state that there were things in the English book of which they did not approve, and that in departing from its standards they did no dishonour to the confessors of the truth in England. It was well known, they said, that the fathers in England were by no means satisfied even with the Second Book of Edward, and that had circumstances permitted they would have altered it to meet the true teaching of Scripture.² This letter closed the correspondence with Zurich.

The question naturally rises, Why did Whittingham and his party keep back the one fact on which all prospect of union turned? In the case of men who by their voluntary exile had given the best proof of their sincerity and nobility of aim, it is the barest justice to interpret their acts by the best assignable

¹ *F. T.* p. xvii. This Chambers was a man of some wealth, and a patron of learning. It is told of him that he allowed Jewel £6 a year for the purchase of books of divinity.—Strype, *Mem.* vol. iii. part i. p. 225; *Grindal*, p. 14.

² *F. T.* p. xxi.

motives. It was the characteristic of the best Reformers that they were unable to realise how others could honestly differ from themselves as to the simple teaching of Scripture. To Knox and Luther and Calvin, when truest to themselves, it seemed only the lack of opportunity or a deliberate shutting of their eyes that prevented men from adopting their particular scheme of salvation. In keeping silence as to their attitude towards the English Prayer-Book, Whittingham and his friends simply acted on the conviction of all the Reformers—that their own mode of worship had only to be seen in order to be accepted as the expression of the highest form of truth. Their Zurich friends, once in Frankfort, would see for themselves how far the new service surpassed that of England in scriptural purity and spiritual edification. But above all, it was their supreme desire that the English exiles should be brought together into one fold. Such a union would not only present a noble spectacle to all Christendom, but would strengthen their hands against the day when their own country should again be open to them. Whatever motive we assign to them, they had nothing to gain personally by inviting their fellows in exile to share their privileges in Frankfort. It was matter of serious concern to the exiles to obtain the ordinary necessities of life, and an increase of numbers in Frankfort would not lessen their straits.¹

By the date when Chambers came from Zurich, Knox was already settled in Frankfort as one of the ministers of the English congregation.² On the 24th

¹ We have seen the state of Knox's purse on leaving England, and we learn from their own letters that the majority of the exiles were no better off.—Cf. *Orig. Letters* (Parker Society). We shall see further on how Knox was provided for.

² *F. T.* p. xix.

of September a letter with twenty-one signatures had been sent to him at Geneva, urgently praying him to accept the office.¹ It was against his own wish, and only at the express desire of Calvin, that he accepted the invitation,² yet he must have responded at once, as he was in Frankfort by the second week of November. In his capacity as head of the English congregation at Frankfort, Knox was to play a part which gives him a distinct place in the history of English religion and English theology. We have seen the influence he exerted on the religious revolution under Edward. In Frankfort the two tendencies in English religion were brought face to face on such clear issues, that thenceforward the parties on either side regarded each other as adversaries to be dealt with according to the laws of theological warfare. Out of the Frankfort "Troubles" English Puritanism and the Church of England emerged with all their well-known lineaments; and as the protagonist of Puritanism in its earliest struggles for existence, Knox holds a place second to none of his English contemporaries.

Knox had hardly arrived in Frankfort before his troubles began. Two representatives from the exiles at Strassburg,³ Richard Chambers, of whom we have just heard, and Edmund Grindal,⁴ now appeared with instructions to effect, if possible, an understanding with their brethren in Frankfort. The condition they offered was, that if "the substance and effecte" of the English book were granted, they would waive

¹ *F. T.* p. xix.

² *Works*, i. 232.

³ The letters they brought had sixteen signatures affixed. Three of the signatories, Augustine Bradbridge, Christopher Goodman, and Thomas Crafton, eventually joined the English Church in Geneva.

⁴ Subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury.

“suche ceremonies, and thinges whiche the countrie coulde not beare.” They were at once asked what they meant by the substance of the book. The answer was that they had no instructions on this head, and that their errand was to have definite information on these three points—What parts of the English book were those of Frankfort prepared to accept, whether they could be guaranteed a separate church in the city, and, at the same time, be assured of a peaceful life there. The answer was unsatisfactory, and as in the case of Zurich the negotiations served only to emphasise the essential antagonism of the two parties.¹

The negotiations with Zurich and Strassburg having failed, the congregation at Frankfort now sought on their own account to fix on a definite Church Order. At first, it was resolved that the order used in Geneva should be adopted as being “an order moste godly and fardest off from superstition.”² To this proposal, however, Knox would not listen. What constituted the superiority of Knox was that combination of zeal and prudence which made him at once a fervid preacher and for the most part a wary politician. To adopt the Genevan order, without consulting the wishes of their brethren scattered over the Continent, would have been to foreclose the possibility of a better understanding. On the ground of principle he equally refused to make use of the English Order; and feeling that he thus placed the congregation in a dilemma, proposed to retire from his charge.³ But to this they “woulde in no wise consente;”⁴ and things were as far off as ever from a satisfactory settlement. To complicate

¹ *F. T.* p. xxiii.

³ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.* p. xxvii.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. xxviii.

matters, Thomas Lever, who had been chosen colleague¹ to Knox, arrived from Zurich in the midst of their difficulties. Lever held an intermediate position between the two parties, and subsequently, to Knox's indignation, gave his support to those who were in favour of the English book.² At this time he proposed that an Order should be drawn up "without respecte off the Booke of Geneva or anye other," and indicated the nature of the liturgy he would approve. His views did not find favour with the majority of the congregation; and at length, as a middle way, it was resolved that a "platt" or description of the English book should be sent to Calvin to ascertain his opinion as to its merits.³

The letter containing this description was written by Whittingham and Knox,⁴ both of whom must have been well aware what Calvin's judgment would be. It would appear, however, that there were some at Frankfort who thought that Calvin was favourably disposed to the English book, and that Knox and Whittingham were making light of his authority.⁵ The letter they wrote certainly could not have been submitted to the opposite party, since its tone throughout was expressly calculated to prejudice Calvin on the point submitted to him.⁶ In the summary it gives of the English liturgy, it exhibits all those portions

¹ James Haddon had also been invited from Strassburg to be one of the pastors, but had refused the offer.—*Ibid.* p. xvi.

² Eventually he became a member of the Church at Geneva, and under Elizabeth was distinguished for his determined nonconformity.

³ *F. T.* p. xxviii.

⁴ Part of this letter is given in translation in the *F. T.* (pp. xxviii.-xxxiii.); but the original appears in full in the *Corp. Ref.* xliii. 337-344.

⁵ *Corp. Ref.* xliii. 339.

⁶ This is much more apparent in the original letter than in the curtailed reproduction of it in the *F. T.*

which would be specially distasteful to Calvin;¹ and their summary is accompanied by comments which were certainly out of place considering the object for which the letter was intended. The letter was despatched on the 11th of December; and as Calvin's reply is dated the 20th January of the following year (1555), his decision was not given without due circumspection. Between these two dates Knox, in his own name, wrote a letter to Calvin's brother ministers at Geneva, which throws further light on his own state of mind and the condition of affairs in Frankfort. Not a few, he says, would like to thrust the English book on the congregation at Frankfort. For his own part, however, he will never consent to be pastor of a church that accepted so imperfect a presentation of the simple teaching of Christ. He prays them to read the letter lately sent by Whittingham, and to favour them with their opinion on the matters of which it treats. He beseeches them to urge Calvin to counsel the English at Zurich not to throw the Church into confusion for the sake of ceremonies of mere human invention.² And he concludes with the request that they would ask Calvin, whether he may not himself leave Frankfort with a good conscience, since his presence tended to disunite rather than to consolidate the congregation in that town.³

¹ The author of the *F. T.* asserts that the description "is verye favourably put down" (p. xxxiii.); but no candid reader can admit this.

² No letter of Calvin responding to this suggestion exists.—*Corp. Ref.* xliii. 371.

³ This letter was first published in the *Corpus Reformatorum* (xliii. 370-371), and appears with the signature *Timoterius*. In a note to the letter, the editors say that the name of this person does not occur elsewhere, but that without doubt it belonged to some one then living in Frankfort. The contents of the letter, however, incontestably prove that the person was no other than Knox. The signature *Timoterius*

As might have been expected, Calvin's opinion decisively favoured the party of Knox and Whittingham. "In the liturgie off England," he wrote, "I se that there were manye tollerable foolishe things,"¹ on which it was absurd to insist in the present condition of the English exiles. Calvin was on the point of his definitive triumph over his opponents in Geneva, and his authority was soon to be at its height in Protestant Christendom. But as things now stood at Frankfort, not even the voice of Calvin could lay the storm. A service practically identical with that of Geneva,² drawn up by Knox and four others,³ found favour with some, but was indignantly rejected by others. Another attempt at a settlement proved more successful; and on this occasion again it was Knox who raised his voice for moderate counsels. As one of four⁴ appointed to devise a service that would satisfy all parties, he urged on his colleagues the necessity of mutual concession if further strife was to be prevented; and the result of their deliberations was a modification of the English service, "as the state of the Church required." But the very conditions on which the two

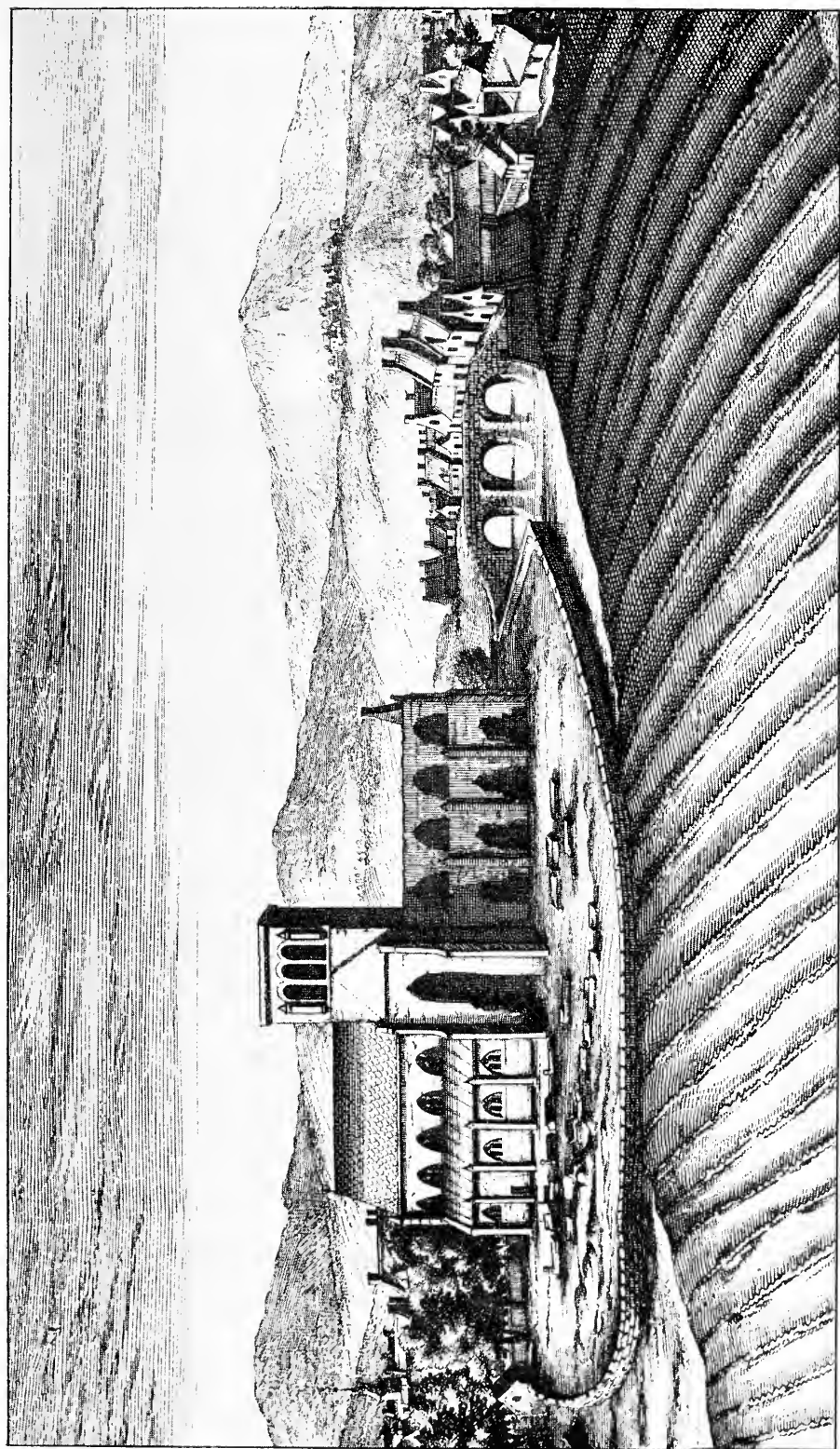
is, doubtless, a misreading for *Sinclerius*, the Latinised form of his mother's name *Sinclair*, which he assumed at different occasions of his life. Professor Mitchell, who has made a special study of this period of Knox's life, is satisfied that *Timoterius* should be *Sinclerius*.

¹ *Tolerabiles ineptias*, trifles that may be put up with.

² *F. T.* p. xxxvii.

³ The others were Whittingham, Anthony Gilby (afterwards temporary minister of the English Church at Geneva during the absence of Knox), John Foxe (author of the *Acts and Monuments of the Church*), and Thomas Cole (Archdeacon of Essex under Elizabeth).

⁴ Besides Knox and Whittingham, the other two who composed this second committee were Thomas Lever and Thomas Parry. As the last two afterwards identified themselves with the party who desired to set up the English book, it is evident that this committee was meant to represent two distinct sections in the congregation as it existed before the arrival of Cox, presently to be noted.



HADDINGTON CHURCH AND GIFFORD-GATE IN 1693. FROM SLEZER'S "THEATRUM SCOTIAE."

parties agreed to accept the new service, proves how essential was the difference that lay at the root of their dissensions. The arrangement was to hold only till the last day of April, and if before that date any difficulty should arise, it was agreed to call in as umpires, Calvin, Musculus, Peter Martyr, Bullinger, and Viret.

But the unlucky flock was only at the beginning of its troubles. On the 13th of March another relay of exiles arrived from England, who speedily stirred the smouldering ashes into livelier flames than ever. Their leader was Richard Cox, a personage whose past history had proved his vigour and capacity. Though not in the first rank of the English Reformers, he had taken a prominent part in the religious changes under Edward, and, as chancellor of the university of Oxford, had carried things with so high a hand that he had been nicknamed the "cancellor." He had also been tutor and almoner to the king, and enjoyed the prestige such a distinction conferred in the eyes of those who regarded Edward as the Josiah of his nation. Though of headstrong temper, Cox did not belong to the radical section of the English Reformers, and throughout the preceding reign had been specially associated with Cranmer.¹

In the nature of things it was inevitable that fresh dissensions should arise on the arrival of Cox and his party. Even before their coming, we have seen, the congregation held together by the most precarious bond.² There was already a minority, supported by

¹ Cox's subsequent career in England proves that he belonged essentially to the moderate school of Reformers represented by Cranmer.

² The author of the *Troubles* would wish us to believe that the harmony of the congregation was complete before the arrival of Cox and his party; but his own narrative proves that the existing peace was only a temporary truce.

Zurich and Strassburg, who preferred the English service to any other, and, reinforced by the newcomers, they could now hope to realise their wish. The state of the religious world at large, also, was little calculated to dispose the two parties to mutual concessions. Cox and his friends had just come from England, where men were giving themselves to death for this very book of which so little account was being made at Frankfort. On the other side, the controversy on the Eucharist had whetted men's zeal against all that savoured of Romanism to such a point, that they were less inclined than ever to be satisfied with all half measures of reform.

The newcomers had hardly arrived before they broke through the temporary settlement that had been lately concluded. Contrary to the Order agreed upon, they raised the responses during the service, and, on being taxed with their infraction of the existing arrangement, replied that they meant to worship as they had done at home.¹ On the Sunday following, one of their number, having mounted the pulpit, read aloud the litany, while his friends uttered the responses.² As it happened, it fell to Knox to preach on the afternoon of this very Sunday. Under the circumstances he had ample justification for speaking his mind frankly to the intruders. It became not the proudest of them,

¹ *F. T.* p. xxxviii.

² The narrative of the *Troubles* is here supplemented by Knox himself, who wrote in his own defence an account of the incidents that now ensued. His narrative is preserved in Calderwood's *History*, and is printed in Laing's edition of Knox (iv. 41-49). The intruding preacher was Jewel, who, before his flight from England, had signed certain "wicked articles"—a weakness which he publicly confessed from the pulpit in Frankfort (Works of Jewel, Fourth Portion, Parker Society, p. xii.). Another circumstance that made the intrusion more irritating to Knox was that his colleague, Lever, had been the chief contriver of it.

he said, to break the godly agreement by which peace had been made in that congregation before their coming. He had once had a good opinion of the English book; but even then he thought, as they themselves did now, that it ought not in all points to be observed. Further experience, however, had taught him that there were in the book "things superstitious, impure, unclean, and unperfect," which rendered it unfit to be thrust on their congregation. Among other causes, it had been this very slackness of England to reform corruption that had brought her to her present estate. A remark on pluralities gave special offence to certain of his hearers, and when he left the pulpit a scene ensued which did not increase the chances of a reconciliation.¹

As yet the Cox party had not been received as members of the congregation. On the Tuesday following Knox's sermon, however, the congregation met and debated the question of their admission. A section was in favour of their being received; but the majority dissented on the ground that matters were not yet settled among themselves, and that the newcomers could not be admitted till they had accepted the existing arrangement.² Again it was Knox who advised the more generous course, and, against the will of the majority, he carried his proposal that the strangers should be received. His magnanimity was ill repaid; for Cox, now master of the situation, "forbad Knox to meddle anye more in that congregation."³ The next day, before service, Whittingham

¹ In the *F. T.* we read, "that he was verye sharplie charged, and reproued so soone as he came owte off the pulpit, for the same" (p. xxxix.). There was also a meeting at night, when bitter words were exchanged.—Knox, *Works*, iv. 45.

² *F. T.* p. xxxix.

³ *Ibid.* p. xl.

went to Glauburg, to whom the English owed the use of their church, and reported the state of affairs. As we know from his correspondence with Calvin,¹ Glauburg had leanings to the way of Geneva, but on the present occasion it was simply in his capacity of magistrate that he gave orders that there should be no service in the English church that day. By his further advice, Whittingham and Knox representing the one party, and Cox and Lever the other, met with the purpose of finding some common basis of union. The colloquy took place at the house of the French pastor, Pullain,² who was to set down in writing the heads on which both parties might agree. The result may be given in Knox's own words. "But the third day when the order of Mattins, to begin always with '*Domine labia,*' '*Deus in adiutorium,*' et '*Deum laudamus,*' and other prescript words, not read in Scripture, was called an Order borrowed of the Papists and Papistical; then began the tragedie, and our consultation ended."³

It was during this conference that Knox first received a hint of what was to be the end of his connection with Frankfort. One of the Cox party, "a Mr. Isaack of Kent,"⁴ visiting him at his lodging, besought him to relax his opposition to the English service, making favourable promises if he should give

¹ *Corp. Ref.* xliii. 716, 871-874.

² Though it lies outside the scope of this history, it may be said that the Walloon congregation, with Pullain at his head, suffered from even more serious dissensions than that of the English exiles.—Cf. *Corp. Ref.* vol. xliii.

³ Knox, *Works*, iv. 46. The Latin phrases are thus rendered in the "Platt" of the English liturgy sent to Calvin. "Lorde, open thou my lyppes;" "O God, be redie to be my helpe;" "Come and let us singe unto the Lorde."

⁴ Edward Isaack of Patricksburn, Sheriff of Kent.

way, but threatening certain evil consequences if he persisted.¹ Knox was not the man to be moved from a conviction by threats or promises, and his visitor had to seek another mode of getting rid of him of which we shall hear presently. But meanwhile the Knox party were not idle under their defeat. In a letter to the Frankfort Senate they recapitulated the history of the English congregation, and besought them to give heed to the state of affairs brought about by the newcomers. One passage in this letter deserves special emphasis, as showing that both parties fully realised the important issue of the controversy. The passage is as follows: "But wherfore speake yow off theis thinges will yow saie, that apperteneth nothinge to us? yes verely, we thinke it toucheth yow verie moche, for yff thies men armed by your authoritie shall do what they liste, this evell shalbe in time established by yow and never be redressed, nether shall there for ever be anie ende off this controversie in Englande. But yff it woulde please your honorable authoritie to decree this moderation betweene us, that this whole matter may be referred to the judgements off the five above named ² not we alone that are here present, but our whole posteritie, yea oure whole englishe nation, and all good men, to the perpetuall memorie off your names, shalbe bownde unto yow for this great benefit."³

As the result of their supplication, Glauburg paid a special visit to the English church to recall the parties

¹ This is the account of Knox himself (*Works*, iv. 46). That given by Cox and his friends to Calvin (*Corp. Ref.* xliii. 779) is slightly different; but Knox had the best reasons for remembering all the circumstances.

² As before mentioned these were Calvin, Musculus, Martyr, Bullinger, and Viret.

³ *F. T.* pp. xlii., xliii.

to a sense of their position. Their liberty of worship, he told them, had been granted on the condition that, in doctrine and ceremonies, they should follow the French Church whose privileges they were allowed to share. If in the future they should infringe that arrangement, as he had opened the church to them, so he would again close it. If there were any who refused to accept these conditions, he called upon them there and then to say so. On this appeal Cox arose, and declared that having read the French Order he had found it "bothe good and godly in all pointes,"¹ and advised the acceptance of the terms now offered. Matters being thus cleared up, the congregation separated on the understanding that thenceforward they were bound to the French service if they were to have public worship at all.²

From the story of the Frankfort exiles to this point, it must be clear that this last settlement was not likely to be of long duration. With the views they held of the French service, the Cox party were bound to leave no stone unturned to obtain the use of the English book. The most formidable opponent with whom they had to deal was Knox, one of the pastors of the congregation, and in his own person a very host. Knox out of the way, half the battle would be gained. And now we come to the one really discreditable incident in the whole story. We have just seen that pressure had been privately brought to bear on Knox with the view of checking his opposition to the English service. The attempt had not succeeded, and other measures had to be taken.

¹ Such is the statement in the *F. T.*; but it is difficult to think that Cox did not make it with certain qualifications.

² *F. T.* p. xliii.

It has been related that in his *Godly Admonition* Knox had made use of language which, under the circumstances, showed a careless disregard for the position of his fellow-confessors in England,¹ and he was now to pay the penalty for his indiscretion. On this pamphlet his opponents now founded a charge which brought about the result they desired. Acting by the advice of the Cox party, "Mr. Isaack and one Parrey, late Chancellor of Salisburie," accused Knox before the magistrates of high treason against the Emperor, his son Philip, and Queen Mary.² From past experience the magistrates of Frankfort had good reason to be chary of giving offence to the Emperor. Sending for Whittingham, they demanded what manner of man this Knox was against whom such serious charges were laid. Whittingham, as we may imagine, gave an excellent account of his fellow-soldier in the faith; but this did not satisfy the magistrates, and he was ordered to produce at one o'clock next day an accurate translation in Latin of the passage on which the charge of treason was based. As the result of their examination Knox was stayed from preaching, but at the moment they issued no further commands.³ Though forbidden to preach, Knox had not been forbidden to listen, and accordingly he appeared in the church next day, not thinking that his "company would have offended any." He no sooner appeared than Cox and his friends rose in a body and left the church, "some of them protesting with great vehemency that they could not tarry" where Knox was present.⁴ A few days later Isaack and Jewel

¹ See above, p. 159.

² Knox, *Works*, iv. 47. There were in all nine articles in the charge brought against him.

³ Herzog, Art. *Frankfurt-am-Main*.

⁴ Knox, *Works*, iv. 48.

prevailed on the magistrates to proceed to sterner measures against their offending brother.¹ At this moment the Emperor was at Augsburg, and therefore inconveniently near should he choose to raise a difficulty regarding the indiscreet stranger. Should they refuse the demands of the informers, these might carry the story to the Imperial Chamber, and implicate the city in the charge of harbouring traitors.² Through Whittingham and Williams, therefore, Knox was instructed to quit the city, as at once the safest course for himself, and the most prudent policy on the part of the Senate.³ On the night before his departure his friends, to the number of fifty, met in his lodging, and listened to "a moste comfortable sermon"; and on the following day (26th March), having brought him some three or four miles from the city, bade him God-speed "with greate heavines off harte and plentie of teares."⁴ It was to Geneva that he naturally bent his steps, and it is there we have next to take up his history.

With the departure of Knox from Frankfort our

¹ As Knox had denounced Jewel for his temporary apostasy in England, Jewel had other than public reasons for thus playing the informer.

² Herzog; *F. T.* p. xlv.

³ *F. T.* p. xlv.; Herzog.

⁴ In defending their treatment of Knox to Calvin (*Corp. Ref.* xliii. 779, 780), Cox and his friends say that the presence of Knox in Frankfort was "neither profitable nor safe" for the Church, and that they had first privately done their best to persuade him to quit the city. But the awkward fact is that Knox's absence from Frankfort was precisely the one thing they desired to bring about their own ends. Fuller, in his account of the affair, expresses what must be the natural feeling of every reader. "Strange," he says, "that words spoken some years since, in another land and language, against the Emperor, to whom Knox then owed no natural allegiance (though since a casual and accidental one, by his removal into an imperial city), should, in this unhappy juncture of time, be urged against him by exiles of his own religion, even to no less than the endangering of his life."—*Church History*, iv. 217 (Brewer's edit.).

interest in its English colony ceases;¹ but a few words may be added regarding the issue of the controversy in which he had taken so prominent a part. Having rid themselves of Knox by this dubious stratagem, the Cox party were not long in profiting by their victory. In Adolph von Glauburg, a nephew of Johann and a distinguished civilian, they secured an ally who stood their friend both against the Knox party and the Lutheran preachers, who had opposed from the first all the favours that had been shown to the strangers.² On the very day that Knox left the city, this Glauburg informed Whittingham that the magistrates had granted the full use of the English liturgy.³ This was not exactly the case, since in several points, such as the use of the surplice and the practice of kneeling at the Eucharist, the magistrates insisted on a modification of the English Order. But these concessions did not satisfy Whittingham, who, since the departure of Knox, was the most active spirit on the other side. He appealed to the Senate, called in the authority of Calvin,⁴ and did all that

¹ *F. T.* p. xlv. Only some of the fifty brethren accompanied him.

² This Glauburg dying shortly afterwards (26th September), the Lutheran preachers declared that his death was the judgment of Heaven for the favour he had shown to the heretical strangers.—Herzog.

³ In the *F. T.* it is stated that the magistrates granted "the full use off the Englishe booke" (p. xlv.); but this is neither probable in itself, nor does it tally with the statement made to Calvin by Cox and his friends in a letter they addressed to him a fortnight later (5th April). In that letter they say that in deference to the opinion of the country they have given up private baptism, the confirmation of children, saints' days, kneeling at communion, the surplice, the cross, and other things of like nature (*Corp. Ref.* xliii. 553); and their statement is confirmed by a letter of Ridley to Grindal in which he approves the concessions which had been made to the custom of the country. This letter is printed in Knox's *Works*, iv. 61, 62.

⁴ The two letters of Cox and his party to Calvin prove this.—*Corp. Ref.* xliii. 553, 776.

fervent zeal could to restore the former settlement.¹ At length, finding vain all their efforts to recover the direction of affairs, he and his friends determined to seek elsewhere a Church in accordance with their own principles, and after a last bitter fight in rebutting the terrible charge of schism,² the main body of them finally quitted Frankfort in the first days of September.³ Relieved of their most strenuous adversaries, the victorious party led a hardly less troubled existence during the remainder of its term in Frankfort. In the autumn of the year of which we are speaking, a demand which they made for the use of a church distinct from that of the Flemings⁴ and Walloons still further excited the wrath of the Lutherans.⁵ Assailed from without, they were hardly less divided within. Writing from Frankfort (3rd February 1556) a member of the Cox party, Robert Horn, speaks of "the now almost ruined church of our exiles at Frankfort."⁶ In 1557 a new strife arose hardly less bitter than that in which Knox had been engaged;⁷ and when in 1559 the accession of Elizabeth permitted their return to England, it was with a feeling of relief that the hospitable city saw itself rid of at least one of its three troublesome colonies.

¹ *F. T.* p. xlvii. *et seq.*

² *Ibid.* p. liii. *et seq.*

³ *Ibid.* p. lix.

⁴ As having no direct bearing on the foregoing narrative, we have not mentioned the fact that a congregation of Flemings, led by the Polish nobleman John à Lasco, had settled in Frankfort in June 1555, and had shared the Church of the White Ladies with the English and the Walloons.

⁵ Herzog.

⁶ *Orig. Letters*, p. 128.

⁷ The story of this second dispute is told in the latter half of the *F. T.*

CHAPTER III

KNOX IN GENEVA—DEVELOPMENTS OF PURITANISM

1555-1559

As has been said, the year 1555 gave Calvin the decisive preponderance in Geneva. The two points at issue between him and his opponents¹ had been the right of the ministers to exclude from the Lord's Table, and the admission of foreigners to the privilege of citizenship.² By the elections of February 1555, Calvin triumphed in both cases, and thenceforward the double weapon could be used with deadly effect against all who sought to contravene the purposes of himself and the Company of Pastors. We shall presently see to what extent the foreign element pervaded the city: here it is enough to say that the strangers were sufficiently numerous to turn the public vote, and that Calvin could securely count on their support in his difficulties with untowardly natives. As excommunication, moreover, virtually implied banishment, it will be seen that Calvin possessed all the powers requisite to give effect to his notions of an ideal commonwealth.

¹ According to M. Amédée Roget (*Histoire du Peuple de Genève*, tome iv. liv. ii. p. 318, *note*), the name *Libertines*, formerly applied to the opponents of Calvin in Geneva, is not used in contemporary documents with reference to the defeated party of 1555. Knox, however, refers to that party under the familiar name.—*Works*, v. 216.

² Cf. Roget, *Hist. du Peuple de Genève*, tome iv. liv. ii.

Such was the state of things in Geneva when Knox arrived from Frankfort at the end of March or the beginning of April.¹ About a month after his arrival, a last ill-advised attempt was made by Calvin's enemies to break his authority in the city. The accounts of this enterprise are somewhat conflicting, and Knox's story of the affair, as we might expect, exactly coincides with that of Calvin. On the night of the 16th May, the party opposed to Calvin met at two taverns in the city, and afterwards raised a tumult in the streets, apparently in the hope of drawing to their side all the dissatisfied and unruly elements in the population. According to Calvin, the object of those who raised the disturbance was to murder all the enfranchised strangers, and thus make themselves masters of the city. "Providentially," he writes, "the hapless exiles were all plunged in such profound sleep, that it was not till the morning that they became aware of the fate they had so narrowly escaped."² Writing some three years after the event, Knox thus describes the occurrences of the night.³ "Shortly after did the whole venom burst out : for after feasting and banquetting of all sortes of villanes, was the conspiracie concluded and put in execution. For with one consent they invade upon the night one of the chief magistrates: they cried victorie and triumphe, but God sodanly repressed that furie, so assisting, without the arme of man, his servant and lieutenant for that time appointed in that Citie, that first he recovered the ensigne of his just and lawfull office againe ; and thereafter so put to

¹ *Frankfort Troubles*, p. xlv.

² Roget, tome iv. liv. ii. pp. 263, 264. This tumult is known as the *Prise d'armes du 16 mai*.

³ This passage is taken from the treatise on Predestination, which is addressed to an Anabaptist.

flight that rebellious and great multitude, that some being apprehended and committed to prison, the rest were dispersed by the onely power of God. For that is a thing most evident and plaine, that the numbre of the one did in twenty degrees surmount the other. This do I write, to let the simple reader understand, althogh thou¹ be blynded, what was the original of the trouble which Geneva did after suffer. What did the strangears, I pray thee, gaine by their libertie? As touching the worlde, I say nothing, for no kind of com-oditie they lacked before, which after they did obteine, onely this excepted, that in counsel they shoulde have voices and place to speake: which thing also did onelie offend those oppressors of justice and mainteiners of iniquitie; for thereby did they perceive, that their interprises shoulde be broken, and that statutes shoulde be broken, and that statutes shoulde be made to reforme their insolencie. To proceed, justice being executed without respect of person upon those that were apprehended, the rest who did escape, to great number, were pronounced rebelles.”²

As the result of this abortive revolt, Calvin's authority was more firmly fixed than ever; and thenceforward foreigners were enfranchised in a steadily increasing ratio. The city being thus made free to strangers, a small band of English now sent in a request to Calvin that they might be permitted to enjoy the privileges granted to exiles from other countries; and on the 10th of June laid their request before the Council. As Calvin's request was now virtually a command, the order was given that with his advice a suitable place should be found for the

¹ The Anabaptist he is addressing.

² *Works*, v. 214.

English to worship in company.¹ Though the church was not actually granted till some months later, a few of them must have met for common worship with Knox as their minister. At the most, however, Knox at this time could have filled the office only for a few weeks, as by the end of August 1555 he had once more left Geneva.

On this occasion his destination was Scotland, which he had not seen since his summary ejection in 1548. Though no wish lay nearer his heart than to proclaim the truth in his native country, it was by his own admission greatly against his will that he sought it at the present time.² Under the conviction that in the matter of religion the country was precisely where he had left it, his labour, he thought, might with greater profit be expended where he now was. While there was little to induce him to visit Scotland, in Geneva he had a field where he saw a work growing under his very eyes. It was only at the urgent entreaty of Mrs. Bowes, therefore, that he overcame his reluctance, and set out on his long journey at the end of August or the beginning of September. You alone, he wrote to her, God "maid the instrument to draw me frome the den of my awin ease; you allane did draw me from the rest of quyet studie."³

On his arrival in Scotland "in the end of the harvest,"⁴ he found things so much more to his mind than he had expected, that Mrs. Bowes now seemed to be the special instrument of Providence in having brought him. After spending a short time with her

¹ *Registre du Conseil*, 1st June 1555. The Council here meant was the *Petit Conseil*, otherwise known as the *Conseil Ordinaire*, or the *Conseil Étroit*. In 1544 the number of its members was fixed at twenty-five.—Roget, *Étrennes Genèveises*, p. 9.

² *Works*, iv. 217.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* i. 245.

at Berwick, where he found "ma faithfull dochteris than twa,"¹ he proceeded to Edinburgh, where the number of those who had accepted the truth surprised him into unwonted exhilaration. "Gif I had not sene it with my eyis in my awn contrey, I culd not have beleivit it."² The story of his labours in Edinburgh and elsewhere at this time will be better told at a later date: here it is sufficient to say that he found so much to encourage him among his own people that he prolonged his visit till the following autumn. He might have continued his labours still longer; but he now received a letter from the English congregation at Geneva "commanding him in Goddis name, as he was thare chosin pastor, to repayre unto thame, for thare comforte."³ Such a request or command was not to be gainsaid; and he now made preparations for his return which suggest the true cause of his visit to Scotland at this particular period.

Before taking his own departure, he tells us, that "he send befoir him to Deape, his mother-in-law, Elizabeth Bowes, and his wyef Marjory."⁴ Here in all probability we have the explanation of Mrs. Bowes's urgency that he should come to Scotland in the previous autumn. It has been told that by the religious opinions she had adopted, Mrs. Bowes had put herself in strained relations with her husband, her brother, and probably the majority of her own children. On Knox's departure from England her position became daily more uncomfortable, and no choice was left to her but to quit her husband or abandon her religious convictions. From the letters Knox addressed to her

¹ The "twa dochteris" are, of course, Mrs. Bowes and her daughter Marjory.

² *Works*, iv. 217.

³ *Ibid.* i. 253.

⁴ *Ibid.*

we gather that she was under continual pressure to conform to the practices of the old religion, and that she lived in a state of chronic misery from the conflicting claims of conjugal duty and her religious aspirations. As an escape from her difficulties she naturally thought of Geneva, where she might at once enjoy Knox's counsel, and be free to follow the religion she approved. But her husband was still alive, and her desertion of him even in the cause of religion would naturally give rise to some scandal. To put a better face on the step, therefore, she preferred to appear in Geneva as the mother-in-law of one of the pastors of the English congregation; and it was probably to bring about this end that she besought Knox to come to Berwick in the autumn of 1555. His unwillingness to come even with the special inducement held out to him, was hardly in the spirit of an impetuous lover. But Knox was now in his fiftieth year, and marriage in the sixteenth century was so entirely a matter of convenient arrangement that this need not surprise us. As a matter of fact, moreover, he could not think that the presence of Mrs. Bowes, living apart from her husband, would conduce to the good name of the English congregation at Geneva.¹ Bound as he was to Mrs. Bowes and her daughter, however, he could hardly have refused her request,

¹ The delicate question of married persons separating on account of religion was one which exercised all the tact and discretion of the Protestant ministers. Writing in 1559, Calvin has the following remarks on this very point: "Sur l'article premier où on demande jusques où s'estend le conseil de laisser homme ou femme pour fuyr persécution ou idolâtrie, j'exhorteray tousjours iceux qui sont mariés à ne point laisser leurs parties jusques après avoir essayé tous moiens à eulx possibles pour les gaingner et attirer avec eulx, car telle conjunction merite bien qu'on face tous debvoirs."—*Bulletin de la Société du Protestantisme*, tome xv. p. 574. Knox shows equal caution in the advice he gives on the point.—Cf. *Works*, iv. 245.

and the result was his visit to Scotland and his marriage immediately on his arrival.¹

By the 13th of September Knox was back in Geneva, attended by Mrs. Bowes, his wife, a servant and a pupil known to us only as James and Patrick.² During Knox's absence the English congregation had become a distinct institution in the city. In the autumn of the preceding year, shortly after his departure, Whittingham and others had come from Frankfort in search of a church in accordance with their ideas of Scriptural purity;³ and on the 14th of November,⁴ in response to the demand of Calvin already noted, the Temple de Notre Dame la Neuve⁵ was granted for the joint use of the English and Italian refugees in the city. Possessed of a place of meeting, the congregation had next to make choice of pastors, who, by the law of Geneva, must be two in number and subject to annual election. The two men chosen were Goodman and Knox, Gilby taking Knox's place till his return from Scotland.⁶ In the beginning of the next year a Church Order, embodying the doctrines and ceremonies accepted by the congregation, was put forth with the approval of Calvin and the other ministers of Geneva, and completed its organisation as a Christian Church.

It was as co-pastor of this body of worshippers, equally in harmony with itself and its surroundings, that Knox laboured in Geneva for the next two years

¹ In a letter dated 20th September 1553, Knox speaks of Marjory Bowes as his wife; but the expression must be understood only as implying that they were betrothed. ² *Livre des Anglois*.

³ *Livre des Anglois; Frankfort Troubles*, p. lix.

⁴ *Registre de Conseil*.

⁵ Now the *Auditoire de Philosophie*.

⁶ *Livre des Anglois; Frankfort Troubles*, p. lix. The number of deacons and elders varied from two to four.

—years, it may be safely said, the happiest of all his public life. Writing to Mrs. Locke, 9th December 1556, he speaks of Geneva as a place “whair I nether feir nor eschame to say is the maist perfyt schoole of Chryst that ever was in the erth since the dayis of the Apostillis.” “In other places,” he continues, “I confess Chryst to be trewlie preachit; but maneris and religioun so sinceirlie reformat, I have not yit sene in any uther place.”¹ Yet if everything was so perfectly after his own heart in Geneva, his office as pastor was apparently no sinecure. In the letter just quoted he gives as excuse for his dilatory correspondence that “daylie trubles occuring as weill in my domesticall charge, whairwith befor I haif not bene accustomit, and thairfor ar thay the more feirfull, as in the administratioun of publick thingis aperteaning to the pure flok heir assemblit in Chrystis name, do compell me oftentimes to forget, not onlie my maist especiall freindis, but also my self in sum thingis necessarie to the bodie and corporall health.” What Knox’s domestic troubles were we can only conjecture; but it is difficult to believe that the querulous Mrs. Bowes could be a cheerful member of any household; and we know that his pecuniary circumstances were such that the gifts of friends were always welcome.² As for his official duties, the city records give us a lively impression of the exertions required of the ministers of the different congregations.³ Sermons at least thrice in the week and before hearers whose attainments were superior to his own, sufficiently explain the fact that Knox found

¹ *Works*, iv. 240.

² *Ibid.* iv. 244.

³ We find Calvin complaining in the name of his colleagues that it was impossible for them to preach more sermons than they did, even though the Council had expressed a desire for them.—Roget, tome v. liv. i. p. 99.

his labours so exacting that he had little leisure for friendly correspondence.¹

Though the religious advantages of Geneva filled Knox and his fellow-worshippers with admiration, they could not realise the full significance of what was going on before their eyes, for the future of Christendom. With all his shrewdness, Knox could not foresee the immense future of those ideas and principles which Calvin embodied in the framework of Genevan society. But even what they saw, made clear to him and his fellows that Geneva at this moment was the true religious capital of Europe, where human life and destiny were seen under a new light that renewed men's endeavour after a forgotten ideal. We have just seen the spell which Geneva exercised on men of his type at the period of which we are speaking. His fellow-exile, John Bale,² is even more enthusiastic. "Let other men fayne other miracles, but Geneva seemeth to me to be the wonderfull miracle of the whole worlde : so many from all countries come thither, as it were unto a sanctuary, not to gather riches but to live in poverty." And again, "Is it not wonderfull that Spanyardes, Italians, Scottes, Englishemen, Frenchemen, Germanes, disagreeing in manners, speache, and apparill, sheepe and wolves, bulls and bears, being coupled with the onely yoke of Christe, should live so lovingly and friendly, and that Monkes, Laymen, and Nunnes, disagreeing both in life and secte should dwell together, like a spirituall and Christian congregation?"³

¹ As we shall see, Knox during his stay in Geneva was engaged in constant literary labours, which might alone have sufficed to occupy his time.

² Bale was at this time settled in Basel ; but he had visited Geneva, and could therefore speak of the city from personal observation.

³ Bale, *The Pageant of Popes* (edit. 1574). Prefatory Letter to

The harmony that existed among the various elements which Bale here enumerates, was perhaps not so wonderful as his words seem to convey. By the organisation of the city under Calvin every suggestion of discord was repressed with a firmness and precision that left no opportunity for any disturbance of the existing settlement. It has been related how Calvin's victory in the elections of 1555 made him virtual dictator on matters of faith and morals among the Genevans themselves. By the precautions taken before they were allowed to settle in the city, foreigners were equally prevented from being a source of trouble. No foreigner could remain in the city beyond three days without reporting himself to the authorities. If he wished to take up his residence, he must procure a *lettre d'habitation*, for which he had to pay a small fee, and swear allegiance to the republic and obedience to its laws.¹ But this was not enough. As a guarantee that he was a fit person to enjoy the privilege of *habitation*, he must attach himself to some congregation, whose pastors, elders, and deacons, would be able to give a satisfactory report of his life and conversation. If he were a person of some social importance, he might after a time, and on payment of a small fee,²

Sulcer, Bullinger, Calvin, and Melanchthon. The population of Geneva about the middle of the sixteenth century is estimated at 12,000. The large number of foreigners in the city is proved by the following fact. On the occasion of a threatened attack by the Imperial troops in 1557, the Council decided that a public review of able-bodied men should not be held, because "the number of strangers, which is greater than that of the citizens, might fill them with undue pride."—Roget, tome v. liv. i. p. 82.

¹ "Notice sur la Colonie Anglaise établie à Genève de 1555 à 1560" (*Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève*, tome neuvième, p. 338, par Th. Heyer).—Knox's name does not appear in the list of inhabitants.

² Knox and Goodman were admitted as citizens on the 21st of

be enrolled as a citizen, and acquire all the privileges of a native-born Genevan. On the other hand, should he wish to quit the city, he must give due notice of his intention, and assign reasons for his departure. If his reasons satisfied the Council, he was free to go with such goods as belonged to him.

As an illustration of the manner in which the city was drilled to good habits and good morals, we cannot do better than quote an order issued by the Council a few months after Knox's arrival. In this order it is decreed, "that the Srs. Sindics Francs and Chiccand receive charge to make a general visitation through the whole town to enjoin man-servants and maid-servants to attend sermons, to question them as to their religious faith, to order parents to make their children attend school, and nurses not to place children at the breast in the same bed with themselves;¹ further, that they make inquiries regarding rogues and scoundrels, forbid fires being kindled in rooms where there are no chimneys, order the chimneys to be swept and scraped . . . the streets to be kept clean, forbid the letting of houses and rooms to strangers without the permission of the captains and *dizeniers*, and order that the watchmen either discharge their duty in their own persons or entrust it to some honest comrade."² But it is in the custom known as the *grabeau* that we see, in its fullest manifestation, the spirit which directed the counsels of

June 1558. As pastors they had to pay no fee (*Reg. de Cons.*). Calvin himself, it may be said, did not become a citizen till the 25th December 1559. He had abstained from asking the privilege, he said, because he wished to avoid giving colour to the suspicion that he aimed at political power.

¹ This was a frequent enactment in the Councils of the Mediæval Church.

² Roget, tome v. liv. i. pp. 56, 57.

this astonishing republic. Another extract from the Register of Council will best explain the nature of this institution—for an institution it eventually became. “It having been proved,” the entry runs, that “it would be good and expedient that a day in each month or quarter should be fixed for meeting here in Extraordinary Council, no one failing, if necessity call for it, to remonstrate with each other, all being done in good order, all enmity and rancour laid aside, on their faults and slackness in duty, in order that the grace of God may be present among us,—it is decreed in the name of God Almighty that this be done and carried out in charity and brotherly affection, all enmities being cast aside, and that a beginning be made on Wednesday next at six in the morning, and that all be done to the honour of God and to His glory. Amen.”¹ An entry of the following year (2nd March 1558) shows that the Council had duly put in practice the above decision. “In consequence of this ordinance,” we read, “fraternal censures have taken place in the Council. In good love and charity each has censured the other, proceeding from the first to the last, each pointing out to the other his imperfections and vices. May the Lord make it redound to the profit of us all.” When the civil magistrates dealt with themselves so strictly, the ministers could not well lag behind. While the magistrates, therefore, were content to point the finger at each other once a month or once a quarter, the ministers performed the mutual service not less than once a week. In the Church Order of the English Congregation occurs the following passage: “To the intent that the ministerie of Godes Woorde may be had in reverence, and not brought to

¹ *Reg. de Cons.* 3rd December 1557.

contempt through the evill conversation of suche as are called therunto, and also that fautes and vices may not by long sufferance growe at length to extreme inconveniences; it is ordeyned that every Thursday the ministers and elders, in their assembly or Consistorie, diligentlie examine all suche fautes and suspicions as may be espied, not onlie amongst others, but chieflie amongst theymselves, lest they seme to be culpable of that which our Saviour Christ reproved in the Pharisies, who coulde espie a mote in an other man's eye, and coulde not see a beame in their owne."¹

What intensified this spiritual exaltation was the fact that Geneva at this time was beset by enemies, who watched only a favourable opportunity to destroy her. At peace within her own walls, the republic lived in constant alarm lest some unexpected combination should restore the House of Savoy, and with it that Roman dominion which it was now her very being to resist as the evident reign of Antichrist. The opponents of Calvin who had been driven from the city in 1555 had betaken themselves to Berne, Geneva's troublesome rival and ally, and were leaving no stone unturned to obtain her support against the victorious party. Not till the beginning of 1558 did a treaty with Berne relieve the republic from a danger which was only one among others that menaced her very existence.² But it was during the weeks that followed the battle of St. Quentin (2nd August 1557) that she passed through the acutest tremors. By that victory France was for the moment prostrated before Philip of Spain, who owed his victory to Philibert-Emmanuel, representative of the Dukes of Savoy, the ancient lords of Geneva. As a reward for his services Philibert

¹ Knox, *Works*, iv. 177, 178.

² Roget, tome v. liv. i. p. 94.

naturally looked for the restitution of his ancestral dominions, Geneva among the rest.¹ That Knox through these crises had all the feelings of a Genevan citizen, his own words leave us in no doubt. Speaking of the intrigues of Berne, he writes in the following terms, which show how completely he had identified himself with the city of his adoption.

“ To proceed, justice being executed without respect of person upon those that were apprehended,² the rest who did escape, to great nomber, were pronounced rebelles. Then began skirmyshes upon every side of Geneva, victualles were commanded to be cut of, great threatnings were blowen in the eares of all the godlie ; and when these coulde not prevaile, then were devised practise after practise, treason was conspired, and the ennemies hoped for possession of the Citie. But this being revealed and the practisers punished, Sathan returneth to his owne nature again. For after that no intreatment coulde prevaile, open warre was denounced against them, a daie was sett that they shoulde be restored, and that with great sommes of money to be delivered unto them, by reason of their former losses and injuries sustained. And this sentence was pronounced, not by the rebelles only, but by a potent comonwelth³ and their ancient friendes. Hereupon were made, by the rebelles, fyres of joye, defiance was sent, the day was appointed that the siege should beginne,⁴ and victualles should be cut of ; esperance nor comfort rested none to us, but God and the messingers of his worde, which then sounded the trumpet most boldly and most clearly,

¹ Roget, tome v. liv. i. p. 81.

² On the night of the *Prise d'Armes*.

³ Berne is meant.

⁴ Knox probably refers to the threatened siege by the Imperial troops in October 1557.—Roget, tome v. liv. i. p. 82.

promising, even in our greatest desperation, the same glorious deliverance which shortly after followed. For God by his power did mitigate that rage, and converted the hearts of our ancient alliance to remember their duties toward God and His servants, and so to enter with the citie of Geneva into a newe societie and league.”¹

Beset by these hostile forces, the little colonies of exiles would be bound to each other by ties stronger even than those of common adversity. When every week or month threatened them with a fresh dispersion, it was not the time to seek grounds of difference with their neighbours or to criticise the doings of those in authority. The fact is, at all events, that the history of the English congregation in Geneva presents a pleasing contrast to that of the English exiles in Frankfort throughout the same period. At peace among themselves and with their neighbours, the English exiles in Geneva passed these years without a single event in their history of sufficient importance to find a place in the records of the city. It was otherwise with the Italian congregation which shared with them the Temple de Notre Dame. Two heretics in that congregation, Georgio Blandrato and Valentino Gentili, advanced views on the Trinity which would have ended in the same tragedy as the affair of Servetus, but for the timely flight of the one and the public recantation of the other.²

From a volume entitled *Livre des Anglois*, kept by the ministers of the congregation, and still preserved in the Hotel de Ville at Geneva,³ we learn

¹ *Works*, v. 214, 215.

² Roget, tome v. liv. ii. pp. 147, 164.

³ It is uncertain whether this book is in the handwriting of Knox or

the names and ranks of its members till its dissolution on the accession of Elizabeth. Of the English exiles at this time it has been said that some of them were "persons of honour, quality, and estate, many of them divines, and students of divinity, some merchants, some tradesmen, some husbandmen;" and all these classes seem to have been represented in Geneva. In the *Livre des Anglois* the names of those connected with the congregation are entered under four headings—those who have been received into the Church, those who have been admitted to the ministry, the children baptized, and those persons who have been buried. Before the use of the church was finally conceded, there were twenty-one English residents in the city for whose behoof the privilege had been granted. On the 13th October 1555 came Whittingham and his party to the number of twenty-eight, and till as late as September 1559 new names were added to the membership. Nineteen baptisms, nine marriages, and seventeen burials,¹ commemorate the domestic events of the congregation. The highest number of the English colony, including those on the church-roll

one of the other English exiles. The book has been carefully edited by Professor Mitchell, who has given the following account of previous editions of it. "A transcript of the *Livre des Anglois* was obtained by the late Mr. J. Southernden Burn. This was privately printed by him in 1831, and included in the second edition of his *History of Parish Registers* in 1862. A transcript was also obtained by the late Mr. David Laing, and various entries from it were given by him in his edition of Knox's Works. A copious digest of the contents of the *Livre* was made in 1855 by M. Heyer, and published in Vol. IX. of the Transactions of the Historical and Archæological Society of Geneva. The substance of this was translated into English, and published in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* (July 1862), by Professor Hacket. I have carefully compared all these with the original at Geneva, and as the result I venture to give the subjoined text of the book." The original, it may be said, is a small folio, bound in parchment or light sheepskin.

¹ *Livre des Anglois*.

and in the register of inhabitants, amounted to 212 persons.¹

But this little colony, like that other band of exiles, their spiritual descendants, who carried their religion with them across the ocean, was charged with great destinies. We have seen how Knox and Whittingham had failed to found a Church in Frankfort according to their notions of primitive purity. Now in Geneva they saw realised an ecclesiastical as well as a civil polity, which seemed to them as near perfection as earthly conditions would permit. "I do not now repent," wrote Knox's co-pastor, Goodman, from Geneva, "of having stood forth and laboured with others in that cause, which has been the chief occasion of that happy agreement and solid peace which, by the great blessing of God, we enjoy in this place: which I persuade myself never would have occurred, if for the sake of the other party it had been permitted to contaminate the purity of religion with the dregs of popery which they wished to force upon us."² The term, so famous in English history, by which the party of Goodman and Knox came to be designated, was not yet invented; but in every essential feature the party had already a perfectly defined existence. It is as the first Puritan congregation that the Church presided over by Knox and Goodman in Geneva possesses a historic importance which it is necessary to emphasise. It was to this congregation that the most strenuous "Nonconformists" belonged, who afterwards refused to accept the religion of compromise established by Elizabeth; and it is in the writings of Knox and Goodman that those doctrines were first

¹ *Notice sur la Colonie Anglaise*, p. 348.

² *Orig. Letters* (Parker Society), p. 769.

unflinchingly expounded which eventually became the tradition of Puritanism. The Church Order they adopted was long the directory of public worship in the Reformed Church of Scotland, and the version of part of the Psalms, with which it was accompanied, formed the basis of that which was subsequently used both in England and Scotland. But another work, accomplished by certain members of the congregation, cannot be passed over in any estimate of its historical importance.

Among the members of the congregation were men such as Whittingham, Gilby, Goodman, and Sampson, who stood in the first rank of the English scholars of their time. Now in their exile at Geneva they began a work which at once gave employment to their leisure, and effectually served the cause they had at heart. This was to put forth a new English Bible, which by accuracy of translation and its convenient bulk would commend itself alike to scholars and the English people at large. The first instalment of their labours, a translation of the New Testament, appeared in 1557, and a few months later a revision of the whole Bible was begun and "continued for the space of two years and more, day and night."¹ The translation of the New Testament had been the work of a single hand;² but to the larger work several gave their help—the expense being borne by "such as were of most ability in that congregation."³ When it appeared in April 1560, its success fully rewarded the conscientious skill which the translators had expended on their task. It had the advantage over the previous

¹ Reviser's preface.

² This is implied in the prefatory address to the reader.

³ Reviser's Preface.

English translations in the division of the chapters into verses, in being printed in Roman letter, and being in size a moderate quarto.¹ Aided by these advantages, from the time of its first appearance the Genevan Bible became the household book of the English-speaking nations; and it continued to be so for about three-quarters of a century. In all probability Knox had no direct share in the accomplishment of this great work. Whittingham appears to have been the sole translator of the New Testament; and the translation of the whole Bible was for the most part accomplished after Knox had left Geneva.² Moreover, Knox had come late to the study both of Greek and Hebrew, and it is improbable that with other labours distracting him he ever attained that familiarity with the two languages which would have made his assistance of any great value. The distinction that can be justly claimed for Knox is, that he was deemed worthy by such men to be their chosen teacher and head in the deepest concern of their lives.

Thus settled for the first time in his life amid congenial surroundings, it was with dubious feelings that Knox received a letter brought to him from Scotland in May 1557. It came from the leading Protestant nobles in Scotland—Glencairn, Argyle, Erskine, and James Stewart, Prior of St. Andrews, and bore that the prospects of the reformed religion were full of encouragement, and that Knox's presence in the

¹ Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, p. 125 (edit. 1868).

² Whittingham, Gilby, and Sampson probably did the greater part of the work, though they had doubtless the assistance of others.—Anderson, *The Annals of the English Bible*, p. 456, ed. 1862; Westcott, p. 123.

country was the daily prayer of all the faithful.¹ In accordance with the law of Geneva Knox laid this letter before Calvin and his brother ministers, "who all with one consent, said, 'That he could nott refuse that Vocation, onless he wald declair himself rebellious unto his God, and unmercyfull to his cuntrie.'"² In spite of this solemn pronouncement, Knox was in no hurry to leave Geneva. He received the letter of the Lords in May, but he did not set out on his journey till the end of September, and he reached Dieppe only on the 24th of October.³ As he had come with reluctance, it could not have been wholly distasteful to him to receive two letters on his arrival in Dieppe, dissuading him from proceeding further on his journey. One of these letters was directly, the other indirectly addressed to himself; and both were to the effect that it was unadvisable that he should visit Scotland at that time.⁴ Neither of these letters bore an authoritative character, though it may be that they had been secretly suggested by the Lords who had sent the original invitation. At all events, Knox certainly made the most of them. After referring to the letters he had just received dissuading him from visiting Scotland, "which letteris," he continues, "when I had considdered, I partlie was confounded, and partlye was persed with anguise and sorrow. Confounded I was, that I had so far travelled in the mater, moving the same to the most godly and the most learned that this day we know to lyve in Europe, to the effect that I mycht have thare judgementis and grave counsalles, for assurance alsweall of your consciences as of myne,

¹ This letter is copied by Knox into his *History of the Reformation*. — *Works*, i. 267, 268.

² *Ibid.* p. 268.

³ *Ibid.* p. 269.

⁴ *Ibid.*

in all interprises: And then that nothing should succed so long consultatioun can not but redound eyther to your schame or myne; for eyther it shall appear; that I was mervelouse vane, being so solist whare no necessitie requyred, or ellis, that such as war my moveris thareto lacked the rypenes of judgment in thare first vocation. To some it may appear ane small and lycht mater, that I have cast of, and as it war abandoned, alsweall my particular care, as my publict office and charge, leaving my house and poore familie destitut of all head, save God only, and committing that small (but to Christ deirly belovit) flock, ower the which I was appointed one of the ministeris, to the charge of ane other. This, I say, to worldly men may appear a small mater, but to me it was, and yit is such, that more worldly sustance then I will expresse, could not have caused me willinglie behold the eies of so many grave men weape at ones for my caus, as that I did, in tackin of my last good nycht frome thame. To whome, yf it please God that I returne, and questioun be demanded, what was the impediment of my purposed journey? Judge yow what I shall answer. The caus of my dolour and sorrow (God is witnes) is for nothing pertenyng eyther to my corporall contentment or worldly displeasur; butt it is for the grevouse plagues and punishmentis of God, which assuredly shall apprehend nott only yow, but everie inhabitant of that miserable Realme and Ile, except that the power of God, by the libertie of his Evangell, deliver yow from bondage."¹

Knox had undoubtedly good grounds for complaint against the Scottish lords for their selfish disregard of his personal comfort and convenience. Nevertheless,

¹ *Works*, i. 269-270.

there was something unconsciously maladroit in his alleging the purport of these two letters as the sole ground for his abandoning his intended visit to Scotland. In his private correspondence we have another and, doubtless, a more adequate account of the various motives that led him to turn his back on Scotland at this time. It is evident that he was fully aware that his conduct might give rise to questionings of his own zeal in the cause which he counselled others to place before every other concern. Writing to Mrs. Guthrie in Edinburgh (16th March 1558) he says, "Gif any object, I follow not the counsell whilk I gif to uthiris, for my fleing the contray declaireth my feir; I answer, I bind na man to my exampill; and yit I trust to God that I do not expressedlie against the Word, whilk God uttereth be me. Gif the lufe of this lyfe, or the feir of corporall deth, causit me to deny the knawin veritie, or to do any thing in the eyis of men, whilk mycht seame for feir to favour ydolatrie, then wo unto me for ever, for I wer nathing but a tratour to Chryst and his religioun."¹ In a letter written a month later he is still more explicit as to the motives that swayed him in following the course he did. As an interesting page of autobiography, indeed, this letter is not surpassed by any passage in all his writings, and lengthy though it is, the suppression of any word of it would be a flaw in the portrait we are seeking to present.

"And of verie purpos to haif visited yow did I leif this Congregatioun heir, and also the familie committit to my particular charge; but the cause of my stop do I not to this day clearlie understand. I maist suspect my awn wickitnes, wha am not worthie of sa greit a joy and comfort, as to heir Chryst Jesus trewlie

¹ *Works*, iv. 247.

preachit, whair my hart maist thristeth, be reasone of my former unthankfulnes, notwithstanding the former benefittis whilk I can not deny my self to have ressavit fra the handis of God in greatter aboundance, than ever could have entirit in my hart to have askit. But what hath bene my inobedience to his Majestie, wha thus hath promotit me, my awne conscience is not ignorant ; and thairfoir, I say, justlie may my God not onlie deny unto me that whilk I maist desyre, but also, worthie am I to be depryvit of all his giftis, unles his mercie sall schaddow my offences. And sa, to punish my former unthankfulnes, it may be, that my God maist justlie hath permittit Sathan to put in my mynd sic cogitationis, as did impeid my journey toward you at this present ; and thay wer theis : I hard sic trubillis as appeirit in that realme, I began to disput with myself as followeth : Sall Chryst, the author of peace, concord, and quyetnes, be preachit whair weir is proclamit, seditioun engenderit, and tumultis appeir to ryse ? Sall not his Evangell be accusit, as the caus of all calamitie whilk is lyke to follow ? What comfort canst thou have to sie the one-half of the pepill ryse up aganis the other ; yea, to jeopard the ane, to murther and destroy the other, but above all, what joy sall it be to thi hart to behold with thi eyis thi native contrey betrayit in the handis of strangeris, whilk to na manis judgement can be avoydit, becaus that thay wha aucht to defend it, and the libertie thairof, ar sa blind, dull, and obstinat, that thay will not sie thair awn destruction ? Theis and mair deip cogitationis sa did, and yit do trubill and move my wicket hart, that as I was without comfort, sa was I almaist without consall, not onlie in that matter, but also in matteris of smaller importance.

“I grant, that nane of theis dangeris whilk ar befoir expressit, ar any sufficient cause or excuse why that I suld not hasard all for the manifestatioun of Chrystis glorie; for gif the Apostillis had lukit to any of theis, thay suld never have preachit Chryst; for all sic trubillis, and mair grevous also, did ensew the publicatioun of his Gospell. And it is foirspoken, that sa it must be also to the end of the warld; for alwayis must the reprobatis, the children of this warld, have sum pretext of excuse, why that they reject the lycht whilk is offerit. But thairfoir must not the messingers of God desist fra thair office. And thairfoir, I say, I knaw that na cogitaciounis can excuse me befoir God; for my conscience beireth record, that the salvatioun of my brethren aucht to be sa deir unto me, that it aucht to be socht with the hasard of all that is on earth. But, allace! as the woundit man, be he never sa expert in phisick or serurgerie, can not suddanlie mitigate his awne pane and dolour, na mair can I the feir and greif of my hart, althocht I am not altogether ignorant. what is to be done.

“It may also be, that the doubtis and cald wryttings of some brethrene did augment my dolour, and sumwhat discourage me, that befoir was mair nor feebill, for Sathan is sa subtill, that he can mak the verie elect of God labour and travail for a tyme to stop the preaching of the Evangell.”

This letter clearly proves, what indeed is evident from other incidents of Knox's life, that, devoted though he was to his mission, he never attained that absolute self-effacement which we find in certain of the world's saints. It was, in truth,¹ the fierce struggle of the flesh and the spirit, manifest

¹ *Works*, iv. 250-253.

to all in Knox's powerful and passionate nature, that drew to him men and women alike in the crises of their spiritual experience. But if this self-revelation shows us the weakness of Knox, it also shows us the perfect sincerity of his nature. No man could thus lay bare the secret motions of his heart, save one whose single purpose was to grapple with baser desires and fashion his life according to his deepest thought.

While he thus hesitated to proceed further on his journey to Scotland, he could not return at once to Geneva after so solemn a leave-taking. In the hope, therefore, that more encouraging reports might arrive, he remained in Dieppe till the beginning of the following year.¹ We shall afterwards see that he must have preached with his usual effect to considerable numbers of its citizens; but his mere literary labours at this time are enough to show that these months were not spent in idleness. Two long epistles, respectively entitled, "A Letter to his Brethren in Scotland," and "A Letter to the Professors of the Truth in Scotland," both despatched in December, attest his concern for the religious future of his native country; though it is noteworthy that in neither does he press his presence on those whom he addresses. When it is added that during the same period he composed the most learned, as it is the most notorious, of all his productions, "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women," we see that unremitting toil and the excitement of battle were the necessity of Knox's nature.

Evidently no news reached Knox which led him to change his mind as to the opportuneness of his visit

¹ *Works*, iv. 248. He was in Geneva by March 1558.

to Scotland. By March he was again in Geneva, whose "reign of the saints" he was to enjoy one year more preparatory to the longest, the stormiest, and by far the most important of all the periods into which his public life naturally divides itself. In Geneva he at once resumed his former duties, for during his absence in Dieppe he had again been chosen pastor at the annual election of the 16th December.¹ In May 1557 "Anne Locke, Harrie her sonne, and Anne her doughter, and Katherine her maide," came to join the church of the exiles.² As his letters to her both before and after this period show, Knox regarded Mrs. Locke with a respect and liking which he does not seem to have felt in the same degree for Mrs. Bowes. Four days after the admission of Mrs. Locke and her household to the congregation, the name of "Anne, the doughter of Anne Lock, and Harry Lock her husband" was entered in the list of "all soche of the Englishe Congregation in Geneva, as have bene buried there ffrom tyme to tyme." We may conceive how, in this melancholy beginning of her abode in the city, Knox's spiritual counsels would be more necessary to Mrs. Locke than ever, and to what outpourings of heart he would have to listen from the mingled grief, self-reproach, and bitter questioning which make up a mother's feeling for the loss of her child. In Knox's own household, also, events happened which must

¹ *Livre des Anglois.*

² *Ibid.* In December of 1556 Knox had written as follows to Mrs. Locke: "Wer it not that partlie ye ar impeidit be impyre of your heid, and partlie be so gud occasioun as God hath now offerit yow to remaine whair ye ar, in my hart I wald haif wishit, yea and can not cease to wish, that it wold pleas God to gyd and conduct your self to this place" (*Works*, iv. 240). From other letters it appears that Mrs. Locke's husband had the same religious opinions as herself. What induced her to leave him, therefore, we can only conjecture.

have made Geneva more than ever his home. In the list of baptisms of the congregation are the two following entries: "Nathaniell, the Sonne of John Knox, Willm Whittingham the godfather;" and "Eleezer, the son of John Knox, Minister, Miles Coverdal¹ witnesse." In the sixteenth century children were by no means such important persons in the domestic circle as we now choose to make them; and the principle of "wholesome neglect" was carried out with undeviating consistency. In only one passage of his writings (exclusive of his last will and testament) does he make special reference to his children; and from that we learn that he used the rod when needful, though in contrast to most fathers of that period he had no joy in its application.

The death of Mary Tudor (17th November 1558) and the accession of Elizabeth once more changed the religion of England; and the exiles on the Continent made all haste to return to their native country. Under date 24th January 1559 is the following protocol in the records of the Council of Geneva. "The English and their ministers state that it has pleased God to restore the word of God to their country with liberty to teach it, a service in which they wish to employ themselves: they thank Messieurs for the kind entertainment they have had here, and rest eternally obliged to this Seigneurie. Agreed that they have permission to depart." With the exception of Whittingham and one or two others who remained to complete the translation of the Bible,² all the members of the English congregation made their way homewards

¹ This is the well-known translator of the Bible. He was chosen one of the "Seniors" or elders of the congregation on the 16th December 1558.

² Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, i. 447 (edit. 1813).

in a state of excited hope, which in the case of certain of them was to be woefully disappointed by the religious policy of Elizabeth. By the 7th of February¹ Knox had left Geneva with the rest ; but he, above all his fellow-exiles, was to find that the change of queens had brought him no gain in royal favour.

¹ *Works*, vi. 11.

CHAPTER IV

KNOX IN DIEPPE—HIS INFLUENCE ON FRENCH PROTESTANTISM

1559

ON leaving Geneva for the last time Knox took his usual route homewards by Dieppe. As the direct journey between these towns could be accomplished in eleven days¹ he probably reached Dieppe in the beginning of February.² For various reasons he wished to spend some time in England before proceeding to Scotland. He had certain things to communicate, he wrote to Sir William Cecil, which he "list not to committ to paper, neither yet to the knowledge of manye."³ Above all he longed for an opportunity of again standing face to face with his former congregations at Newcastle, Berwick, and "other parties in the North."⁴ On his arrival in Dieppe, therefore, he at once wrote to the authorities in England for permission to pass through that country on

¹ Beza writes to Bullinger that "one may with the greatest ease pass over in eleven days from hence (Geneva) to Dieppe, a seaport in Normandy, whence with a favourable wind they cross over to England in ten hours."—*Zurich Letters* (Parker Society), ii. 131. From Knox also we learn that a letter took eleven days to come from Geneva to Dieppe. —*Works*, vi. 11.

² According to an authority quoted below it was on the 15th of February that he arrived.

³ *Works*, vi. 20.

⁴ *Ibid.*

his way to Scotland. For reasons which will presently appear his request was ignored by Elizabeth's ministers, and for three months Knox was kept chafing in Dieppe, denouncing all worldly counsellors, and impatient to take his place by the side of those who were now fighting the battle both in England and Scotland.

It was now the sixth time that Knox found himself in Dieppe since the beginning of 1554, and as certain of his visits had extended over several months, he must from first to last have spent not less than a year in this town. When we remember that in season and out of season Knox never lost an opportunity of bearing his testimony, we are not surprised that he left his mark deep on its history. The recent publication of certain ancient chronicles of Dieppe make it clear, indeed, that no single person did more than Knox to give Protestantism a footing in the town. But in helping to plant the new religion in Dieppe, he has a place in the religious history of France which the chroniclers have fully recognised. As a stronghold of the Huguenots Dieppe became the "La Rochelle" of the North of France, and played a part in the wars of religion which was due to Knox more than to any of its own citizens.

As has been said,¹ at the time of Knox's first arrival in Dieppe (March 1554), there was not a single Protestant in the town. At the end of August 1557, however, a colporteur, named Jean Venable, introduced a number of Protestant publications which gained several leading citizens to the doctrines of Calvin. In the city of Rouen reform had already gained a

¹ See above, p. 152.

footing, and possessed more than one preacher; and by the advice of Venable, one of these preachers, La Jonchée, was invited to preach at Dieppe. La Jonchée came and founded a church; but as his duties called him to Rouen, he wrote to Calvin describing the favourable state of things at Dieppe, and praying that a preacher should be sent to profit by this new opportunity. It was precisely Calvin's policy to win France by sending his preachers wherever an opening presented itself in that country,¹ and he at once responded to the present appeal. In January 1558 a M. Dumont came to Dieppe, and found his labours so successful that he determined to make his home in the town. With this object he set out for Geneva in the autumn to bring his wife to Dieppe; but, dying on the way, with his last breath commended the new church to Calvin. On the 2nd of September his place was temporarily taken by a M. Delaporte from Rouen, who was in his turn succeeded by a M. des Roches from Geneva, who began his duties on the 11th of November.² From this sketch of the progress of Reform in Dieppe it will be seen that the town was in closest touch with Geneva, and that Knox in his frequent visits must have come with the authority of one who was at the centre of Evangelical Christianity. On his previous visits he doubtless preached as he did

¹ On the accession of Charles IX. Catharine dei Medici wrote to Geneva stating that all the troubles in France were due to the ministers sent into the country by that town, and begging that no more might be sent.—Paul Henry, *Life and Times of Calvin* (Eng. trans., Lond. 1849), ii. 372.

² *Histoire de la Reformation à Dieppe* (1557-1657), par Guillaume et Jean Daval, dits les policiers religieux, publiée pour la première fois, avec une introduction et des notes par Emile Lesens, Rouen, 1878. I should say that the different chroniclers of Dieppe vary somewhat as to the dates when the several preachers came to the town.

during his last sojourn in the town ;¹ but it is only of this last visit that the chroniclers of Dieppe have left a special account. In the following curious passage, the oldest of these chroniclers thus records Knox's achievements during these last weeks he now spent in Dieppe.

“On February 19th arrived at Dieppe the Sieur Jean Knox, Scotsman, a very learned man, who had been received as a pastor in England in the time of King Edward VI., and was afterwards minister of the English and Scottish Church received at Geneva, and preached at Dieppe for the space of six or seven weeks. He achieved a great result, and the number of the faithful grew in such degree that they dared to preach in full day ; whereas, till this time they had only dared to go [to sermon] during the night. On the first day of March 1559 there made abjuration of the errors of the Roman Church and profession of the truth of the Gospel by the hands of the Sieur Jean Knox, M. de Senerpont, King's lieutenant in the government of Picardy, a son-in-law of the same, and one of his daughters, named Madame de Monterautil, M. de Bacqueville, and two of his sons, with several other ladies and gentlemen.”²

A later chronicler, a priest in Dieppe, gives the following account of the same circumstances in Knox's life : “During his (Delaporte's) absence the elders of the *presche* of Dieppe continued their prayers and public reading [of the Scripture] there, each in his own quarter and in secret. But the minister, John Knox,

¹ Knox probably acquired a knowledge of French as a boy at school. It must have been in French that he preached in Dieppe, as also at Lyons and La Rochelle, places which he also visited.

² Guillaume et Jean Daval, *Hist. de la Reform. à Dieppe*, pp. 10, 11.

a Scotsman by nation, and a great enemy of the Catholic Church, from which he had apostatised, arrived in this town on the 19th February 1559, according to our reckoning. This man, who was audacious and learned, and (as Florimonde de Raimond, liv. 6, chap. xvi. says) factious, and so eloquent that he managed men's souls as he wished, having preached at Dieppe during six or seven weeks, made such great progress and increased the number of converts so greatly that they had the hardihood to go to sermon in full day."¹

The church in which Knox had thus the audacity to preach publicly the new doctrines was that of the Madeleine, in a quarter of Dieppe known as the "hameau de Janval."² As we gather from the authorities just quoted, it was the citizens of Dieppe who formed the main portion of his hearers; but it would appear that there was also a colony of Scotsmen in the town who carried on an active trade in the coarse cloths of their country. So numerous were these Scots, indeed, that the street in which they lived, *des Wez* or *Guez*, came to be known as the Rue des Escossois, and, if we may accept the conjecture of one of the historians of Dieppe, it was Knox himself who had been the cause of their settling in the town.³ But the real importance of Knox's sojourn in Dieppe lay in the influence he exerted on the native French Church, and, therefore, on the future of Protestantism in the north of France. About a fortnight before

¹ *Les Antiquitez et Chroniques de la Ville de Dieppe*, par David Asseline, prestre, publiées pour la première fois, avec une introduction et des notes historiques par MM. Michel Hardy, Guerillon et l'Abbé Sauvage, Dieppe, 1874, i. 283.

² This church was also known as *La Chapelle de la maladrerie*, of which a gate and stone window still remain.—*Ibid.* i. 218, *note*.

³ Asseline, i. 283.

Knox sailed for Scotland, a resident in Dieppe, possibly one of the Protestant preachers now settled in the place, sent to Calvin an account of the prospects of the new congregation. Having told that the state of the Church fulfilled their best hopes, he concludes as follows: "All the Church here, which is in the Lord, and the minister of the same salute you, as also Master John Knox, Scotsman [and] a singular organ of the Holy Spirit, who, according to the grace which the Lord has prodigally expended upon him, has faithfully employed himself in promoting by his holy preachings the glory of Christ during the short term that it will be allowed him to converse with us."¹

The fruit of Knox's labours soon became apparent. About a month after his departure (26th May) the Protestants of Dieppe, to the number of from six to eight hundred, publicly celebrated the Lord's Supper; and about the same date the captain of the castle and several of the most notable persons in the town joined their ranks. Counting on the support of Admiral Coligny, they proceeded to bolder measures, and appropriated two churches for their service, one being in the Rue des Escossois. Though the Government made successive efforts to check them, they still grew in numbers. In 1562 twelve pastors were required to minister to their needs; and in spite of the express orders of the King, no priest dared celebrate mass publicly in the town. In the first Huguenot war which followed the massacre of Vassy (1562), the citizens of Dieppe put their town in a state of defence, and raised 5000 livres for the support of the Prince of Condé and

¹ *Corpus Reformatorum*, xvii. 496, 497. The first part of this letter has been partly destroyed.

the Admiral Coligny. Knox, it would appear, did not lose sight of the Church in Dieppe which he had been the chief instrument in imbuing with a conscious life and a definite aim. In 1567, when the town was in straits during the second Huguenot War, he wrote a letter of encouragement to his friends, and even promised the assistance of an armed force.¹ Through all the religious and political vicissitudes of France during the remainder of the century the Protestants of Dieppe remained a body to be reckoned with; and even after the fall of La Rochelle (1626) were still so numerous that a Scottish minister relates that between 1625 and 1630 he was present at an assembly where 5000 of them had met for public worship.² We needed no further proof of those powers of persuasion in Knox, which to his contemporaries seemed to suggest something superhuman and demonic; but this new glimpse of the results of a mere passing visit to a foreign town enables us to realise how men in the opposite camp to his own came to regard him as a portentous birth of Satan.

But in spite of his zeal for the salvation of Dieppe Knox's present desire was to be out of it with all speed. As has been said, it was his special wish to pass through England on his way home; but the weeks went by, and still no answer came to the request he had laid before the English government. Still, these days were as crowded with work as ever. Besides preaching, it was probably during this period that he wrote or partly wrote the longest of all his

¹ *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de la Ville de Dieppe*, par Michel Claude Guibert, prêtre, publiées pour la première fois, avec une introduction par Michel Hardy, 1878, ii. 105 *et seq.*; Théodore Bèze, *Hist. Ecclesiastique des Églises Reformées au Royaume de France*, i. 671 *et seq.* (edit. 1580).

² Robert Traill, MS. 1669.

productions except his History—his Treatise on Predestination. This treatise, one of the most notable of his literary performances, will come up for consideration in a subsequent chapter; and here we need only concern ourselves with two letters, both in their way worthy of special notice.

The first of these letters is addressed to his friend Mrs. Locke at Geneva, and was evidently written in a somewhat surly humour. When he had hardly gone a month, she had written to him complaining of his negligence in writing to her, and expressing her fear that she would soon pass out of his mind. Her fears and complaints were perversely unreasonable, yet in this reference he answers her in the very mildest tone of expostulation. "Tuiching my negligence in wryting to you," he says, "at other times I feare it shall be little amended, except that better occasions nor yet I know be offered; for oft to wryte where few messengers can be found is but folishnesse. My remembrance of yow is not yet so dead, but I trust it shall be fresh enough, albeit it be renewed be no outward token for one yeare." And then follow these words which are the most remarkable that have been preserved regarding the essential strain of Knox's character. "Of nature I am churlish, and in conditions different from many: Yet one thing I ashame not to affirme, that familiaritie once throughlie contracted was never yet brocken on my default. The cause may be that I have rather need of all then that any hath need of me."¹

But it is his reply to certain queries in Mrs. Locke's letter which show that his enforced stay in Dieppe was trying his temper. The following sentences express at once the settled mood and purpose with which he

¹ *Works*, vi. II.

entered on the great work that awaited him in his native country. "In answering to your Questions, I know I shall be judged extreme and rigorous. But, Sister, now it is no tyme to flatter, nor to dissemble. Our captane, Christ Jesus, and Satan his adversarie, are now at plaine defyançe. Their banners be displayed, and the trumpets blow upon either partie, for assembling of their armies. Our Maister calleth upon his owne, and that with vehemencie, that they depart from Babylon; yea, severellie he threateneth death and damnation to such as, either in forehead or in hand, beare the mark of the Beast. And a portion of his marke are all these dregges of Papistrie which were left in your great Booke of England, any jote whereof will I never counsell any man to use. One jote, I say, of these Diabolicall inventions, viz.: Crossing in Baptisme; Kneeling at the Lord's Table; mummelling, or singing of the Letanie, *a fulgure et tempestate: a subitanea et improvisa morte*," etc.¹

The second letter, written four days after that to Mrs. Locke, is addressed to Sir William Cecil, and must certainly be counted one of the most remarkable documents ever addressed to a public man. His letter, he writes, "shalbe absolved in twoo pointes. In the former, I purpose to discharge, in fewe woordes, my conscience towards you. . . . To you, Sir, I say, that as from God ye have received life, wisdome, honours, and this presente estate in which now ye stande, so ought you wholly to imploye the same to the advancement of his glory. . . . The which, alas! in times past ye have not done; but being overcome with common iniquitye, ye have followede the worlde

¹ *Works*, vi. 11, 12.

in the way of perdition : For [to] the suppression of Christ's true Evangell, to the erecting of Idolatry, and to the shedding of the blood of God's deare children, have you, by silence, consented and subscribed. . . . As this benefit which ye have received is great, so must Godes justice require of you a thankfull hart ; for seinge . . . that you, worthy of hell, he hath promoted to honors and dignitie, of you must he require (because he is just) earnest repentance for your former defection, a hart myndfull of his mercifull providence, and a will so readye to advance his glorie that evidentlye it may appeire, that in vaine ye have [not] received theis graces of God ; to the performance wherof, of necessitye it is, that carnall wisdom, and worldly pollicye (to which both, ye are bruted to be moche inclined), give place to God's simple and naked truth." ¹

Seasoned politician as Cecil already was, this letter could not have been pleasant reading for him. At the same time, the frankness of Knox's expostulation need not impress us overmuch. This freedom in rebuking persons in authority was, in truth, a conventional privilege claimed by the preachers of the reign of Edward VI. By the very extravagance of their denunciation, their words came to be regarded as stereotyped forms of speech, which it was decorous to accept with a semblance of humility, but which it was folly to lay too much to heart. It was the vice of the age to use words of the most solemn import in moods and on occasions which debased both the words themselves and those who used them. It was not only the preachers, but every statesman, in the very page in which he might be advising some act glaringly incon-

¹ *Works*, vi. 15-17.

sistent with his professed religion, quotes words of Scripture with the unction of a saint. In construing Knox's personal rebukes of persons in high places, therefore, we have to remember that the age, alike in flattery and admonition, permitted an emphasis of phrase which it is necessary to estimate at its precise value.

But apart from what was personal to himself in Knox's letter, Cecil must have felt that the writer was a person with whom he could have no common understanding as to the mode of conducting human affairs. Cecil was perfectly aware, indeed, that in his heart Knox knew as well as himself that things in England and Scotland could not be managed on the simple plan he proposed. To set up in both countries the religion which Knox approved, and simply to stamp out all those who refused to accept it, was what Knox himself knew to be for the present impossible. In reading Knox's letter, therefore, Cecil fully understood that its absolute affirmations were not to be literally construed. As was afterwards proved, Knox had as shrewd a sense as Cecil himself of means to ends. Nevertheless, this letter of Knox reveals the gulf that divides the functions of the prophet and of the statesman in human affairs. Cecil's aim was to conserve a state: the aim of Knox was to purify and save a people. For Cecil, Knox was simply one of the factors in the situation to be used or not, as he served the purpose in hand. As it happened, Knox was at this time a factor whom Cecil could not ignore, and, had he consulted his own wishes, he would readily have supplied Knox with the passport he wanted. Three times, he tells Cecil, he had now besought this passport. But not even this letter was to bring it; and at length, despairing of

gaining the permission he desired, he sailed from Dieppe and arrived in Edinburgh on the 2nd of May.¹ In the following chapter we shall see why the passport was not granted.

¹ *Works*, i. 318; vi. 21. In a letter of Throgmorton to Cecil, dated Dover, 15th May 1559, there is the following interesting reference to Knox at Dieppe. "Syr, thys bearer [Rychard Harryson] sheweth me that at Depe he mett with Knoks, who delyvered unto hym letters dyrected unto you. The man, havyng otherwyse herd off hys former fond assertions, desyred to be rydd off the caryadge of those hys letters. Knox thereupon, as he sayth, assuryd hym, that he wold wryte nothinge unmete for you to receave, unmete for hym to wryte, nether for hym to carry."—Forbes, *State Papers*, i. 90, 91 (London, 1740-41).

CHAPTER V

“THE FIRST BLAST OF THE TRUMPET AGAINST THE MONSTRUOUS REGIMENT OF WOMEN”

IT will be remembered that on the occasion of Knox's first visit to Switzerland (1554) he submitted this question, among others, to Calvin and Bullinger: “Whether a Female can preside over, and rule a kingdom by divine right, and so transfer the right of sovereignty to her Husband?” Bullinger cautiously replied as follows: “The law of God ordains the woman to be in subjection, and not to rule; which is clear from the writings of both the Old and the New Testament. But if a woman, in compliance with or in obedience to the laws and customs of the realm, is acknowledged as Queen, and in maintenance of the hereditary right of Government is married to a Husband, or in the meantime holds the reins of Government by means of her councillors, it is a hazardous thing for godly persons to set themselves in opposition to political regulations; especially as the Gospel does not seem to unsettle or abrogate hereditary rights and the political laws of kingdoms; nor do we read that Philip the eunuch, by right of the Gospel, drove out Candace from the kingdom of Ethiopia. And if the reigning Sovereign be not a Deborah, but an ungodly and tyrannous ruler of the kingdom, godly

persons have an example and consolation in the case of Athaliah. The Lord will in his own time destroy unjust governments by his own people, to whom he will supply proper qualifications for this purpose, as he formerly did to Jerubbaal, and the Maccabees, and Jehoiada. With respect, however, to her right of transferring the power of government to her Husband, those persons who are acquainted with the laws and customs of the realm can furnish the proper answer.”¹

As we have seen, Bullinger sent both questions and answers to Calvin, who in acknowledging the communication gave the following as the substance of his remarks to Knox on the subject. “Concerning female government, I expressed myself to this effect, that, seeing it was contrary to the legitimate course of nature, such governments ought to be reckoned among the visitations of God’s anger. But even so, the grace of God sometimes displayed itself in an extraordinary way, since, as a reproach to the sloth of men, he raises up women, endowed not after the nature of men, but with a certain heroic spirit, as is seen in the illustrious example of Deborah. Yet though absolute anarchy should be the result of such rule, I laid it down, that to the private citizen I would give no further liberty than to express his sorrow, since the government of a woman badly adjusted to the country is like the government of a tyrant, which has to be borne till God put an end to it. If any tumult should arise on account of religion, I affirmed that no course seemed to me

¹ *Corp. Ref.* xliii. 92. The translation is that given in *Orig. Letters* (Parker Society), p. 745. There are various readings in the original; but they do not materially touch the sense.

better or safer than to remain quiet till some peculiar call should be clearly manifest."¹

The "peculiar call" did not come to Knox till about three years after his interview with Calvin. As has been said, it was probably during his stay in Dieppe towards the end of 1557 that he wrote his *First Blast against the Monstruous Regiment of Women*.² At that moment he had personal reasons for strong feeling as to the absurdity and enormity of female government. He had come all the way from Geneva, at great personal inconvenience, to carry the Gospel to Scotland; but, all owing to two women, both that country and England were shut against him. How long was this state of things to last? He was himself an old man, and everything seemed to show that he would go down to his grave with all those predictions falsified with which he had buoyed up his own heart and the hearts of his fellow-believers. Mary of England had still a year longer to reign, and at this period there was nothing to indicate that her end was so near. In Scotland the place of Mary of Lorraine would be taken by her own daughter, whose marriage with the Dauphin was already in prospect. As far as human eye could see, therefore, England bound to Spain, and Scotland to France, were as far from salvation as men's counsels could

¹ *Corp. Ref.* xliii. 125. Calvin was not always so moderate in his views. In his *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, Milton quotes the following sentence, among others, from Calvin in support of his contention that kings are removable by their subjects. "Earthly princes depose themselves, while they rise against God; yea, they are unworthy to be numbered among men: rather it behoves us to spit upon their heads, than to obey them."

² The reader is doubtless acquainted with Mr. Robert Louis Stevenson's brilliant paper on "John Knox and his Relations to Women."

make them. But an opponent who wrote a reply to the *Blast* has fully expressed all the motives that threw Knox into the paroxysm of pious fury which found vent in this portentous pamphlet. "So this Authour, seying the tormentes of martyres, the murthering of good men, th' imprissonment of innocentes, the racking of the gyltles, the banishyng of Christ, the receivyng of Antechriste, the spoyling of subjects, the mayntenance of straungers, the moving of warres, the losse of Englandes honour, the purchasing of hatred where we had love, the procuring of trouble where we had peax, the spending of treasure where it was nedeles, and, to be short, all out of joynt: He could not but mislike that Regiment from whence such frutes did spring."¹

The book was printed in Geneva in the early part of 1558, and appeared without the name of either writer or publisher.² There was good reason for this secrecy, since neither in Geneva nor England were there many who cared to identify themselves with such a challenge to every existing government. Calvin, we have seen, had expressed himself with the utmost caution on the subject of Knox's pamphlet; and had it been submitted to him, would certainly have forbidden its publication at this particular moment.³ So secretly did Knox go about his work,

¹ "An Harborowe for Faithful and Trewe Subjectes agaynst the late blowne Blaste, concerninge the Government of Wemen: wherein be confuted all such reasons as a straunger of late made in that behalfe, with a breife Exhortation to Obedience. Anno M.D.lix. (Proverbes 32. Many daughters, etc.). At Strasborowe the 26th of Aprill."—The book, as will afterwards be mentioned, was written by John Aylmer.

² It was the only one of his writings which appeared anonymously.

³ The publication of books in Geneva was under the strictest surveillance of the Council. We shall see that Knox received its *imprimatur* in the case of another book.

however, that Calvin assured Cecil that he "had no suspicion of the book, and for a whole year was ignorant of its publication." If the sentiments of the *Blast* were unwelcome in Geneva, in England the government was bound to consider them as a deliberate incitement to rebellion against the existing order. By the time the book found its way to England, Calais had been taken, and disaffection was rife in all ranks of the people. At this moment, therefore, seditious writings might work special mischief in the country. Accordingly, along with another book, Goodman's *Obedience to Superior Powers*,¹ launched from Geneva about the same date, Knox's pamphlet was denounced by royal proclamation. Any one, the proclamation ran, who was found with these books in his possession, or who, finding them, did not instantly burn them, incurred the penalty of death by martial law.²

The briefest outline of Knox's pamphlet will explain this summary proceeding of Mary's government. After a short preface in which the author states his reasons for giving his opinion to the world at this particular juncture, he opens his case with this startling sentence. "To promote a Woman to beare rule, superioritie, dominion, or empire above any Realme, Nation, or Citie, is repugnant to Nature ;

¹ "How Superior Powers ought to be obeyd of their Subjects ; and wherin they may lawfully, by Gods Worde, be disobeyed and resisted. Wherin also is declared the cause of all this present miserie in England, and the onely way to remedy the same."—By Christopher Goodman. Printed at Geneva by John Crispin, MDLVIII.

² Froude, *Hist. of England*, vol. vi. chap. 35. Knox came to discover how unpopular he had made himself in England by his *Blast*. In his letter to Mrs. Bowes from Dieppe he says—"For to me it is written that my First Blast hath blowne from me all my friends in England."—*Works*, vi. 14.

contumelie to God, a thing most contrarious to his reveled will and approved ordinance; and finallie, it is the subversion of good Order, of all equitie and justice.”¹ To the proof of these propositions he addresses himself with a sound and fury which he himself acknowledged to have been foolish in the interest of his own cause.² Yet at the outset of his argument he is careful to guard himself against future contingencies. His main contention is that women should never be permitted to be the heads of states; but, he says, “I except such as God, by singular priviledge, and for certain causes, known onlie to himselfe, hath exempted from the common ranke of women, and do speake of women as nature and experience do this day declare them.”³

The arguments with which Knox supports his position are drawn from four sources,—the classical writers, the Roman law, the Bible, and the Fathers. As a discussion of the question at issue, the pamphlet would not at this time of day deserve serious consideration. As a characteristic product of the writer and the age, however, it has a historical value which belongs to none of Knox’s productions that have as yet been mentioned. The very fact that the pamphlet was written, is a proof of the cleavage made in European society by the great Protestant schism. The question of the right of women to govern was only a part of the wider question of the right of rulers to enforce laws against the deepest convictions of their subjects.⁴ In denying women the right to become rulers, Knox

¹ *Works*, iv. 373.

² *Ibid.* v. 5. He admits this in a letter to John Foxe the martyrologist.

³ *Ibid.* iv. 374.

⁴ I have discussed this question at length in chap. xvii. of my *Life of Buchanan*.

implicitly declared in the same breath that he denied the right of kings to rule who were not of the religion he himself considered to be the only true one. From the sources to which he appeals he had little difficulty in drawing arguments to make good his contention.¹ Alike according to the classical and the Christian traditions the place assigned to women fully bore out his main position. But the one reason that determined Knox in raising the question at all was simply the fact, that the women who at that moment were actually the rulers of nations differed in religion from himself. Had Lady Jane Grey come to the throne of England instead of Mary Tudor, Knox's *Blast* would never have been sounded.

On the grounds of logic and history Knox had the strongest side of the question; but it cannot be said that this pamphlet shows him at his best as a dialectician. He begins with a show of logical method and precision, arraying in due succession the various authorities to whom he appeals; but before he is half through his argument he loses himself in incoherent declamation which stamps his production as an ill-considered performance, expressly fitted to defeat the very object he had in view. In his handling of the text of Scripture he is as purely a scholastic as his old teacher John Major himself. To prove that the regiment of women is contrary to God's word, he quotes this verse from Deuteronomy. "If thou shalt say, I will appoint a king above me, as the rest of the nations whiche are about me; thou shalt make

¹ One of the best-known passages in Buchanan's *Hist. of Scotland* is the speech he puts in the mouth of Bishop Kennedy as to the expediency of appointing the queen-mother as regent during the minority of James III. Kennedy's sentiments are identical with those of Knox.

thee a kinge, whome the Lorde thy God shall chose ; one frome amongst the middest of thy bretheren thou shalt apointe kinge above thee : thou maist not make a strangier, that is not thy brother." "Here expressedly," adds Knox, "is a man apointed to be chosen king, and a man native amongst themselves : by whiche precept is all woman and all strangier secluded." ¹

But we could not wish a better example of that arbitrary ingenuity in dealing with the text of Scripture which distinguishes scholastic from historical exegesis than the following passage, where he contrasts Deborah's tenure of her office with that of the English Mary. "One thing I wold aske of suche as depend upon the example of Debora, whether she was widowe or wife when she judged Israel, and when that God gave that notable victorie to his people under her? If they ansuer she was a widowe, I wold lay against them the testimonie of the Holy Ghost, witnessing that she was wife to Lapidoth. And if they will shift and alledge that so she might be called, notwithstanding that her husband was dead : I urge them further, that they are not able to prove it to be any common phrase and maner of speache in the Scriptures, that a woman shall be called the wife of a dead man, except that there be some note added, wherbie it may be known that her husband is departed, as is witnessed of Anna. But in this place of the Judges, there is no note added that her husband shuld be dead, but rather the expressed contrarie. For the text saith, 'In that time a woman named Debora, a prophetesse, wife to Lapidoth, judged Israel.' The Holie Ghost plainlie speaketh, that

¹ *Works*, iv. 397.

what time she judged Israel, she was wife to Lapi-doth? If she was wife, and if she ruled all alone in Israel, then I aske, why did she not preferre her husband to that honor to be capitain, and to be leader to the host of the Lord? If any thinke that it was her husbände, the text proveth the contrarie; for it affirmeth that Barak, of the tribe of Nephtalie, was apointed to that office. If Barak had bene her husband, to what purpose should the Holie Ghost so diligentlie have noted the tribe, and another name then was before expressed? Yea, to what purpose shuld it be noted that she send and called him? Whereof I doubt not but that everie reasonable man doth consider, that this Barak was not her husband; and thereof, likewise, it is evident, that her judgement or government in Israel was no such usurped power as our Quenes unjustlie possesse this day; but that it was the spirit of prophecie which rested upon her, what time the multitude of the people had wrought wickedly in the eyes of the Lord.”¹

In the following passage he sums up his argument, and plainly indicates that his object was the overthrow of the existing Governments both in Scotland and England. “And nowē, to put an end to THE FIRST BLAST.² Seing that by the ordre of Nature; by the malediction and curse pronounced against Woman, by the mouth of S. Paule, the interpreter of Goddes sentence; by the example of that Common welth in whiche God by his Word planted ordre and policie;

¹ *Ibid.* iv. 405, 406.

² For reasons which will presently appear, a second Blast was never sounded. He has indicated at the close of his Appellation what were to be the heads of his second discourse (see *Works*, iv. 539, 540). His original intention was “thrice to Blow the Trumpet in the Same matter, if God so permit.”

and finallie, by the judgement of the most godlie writers, God hath dejected Woman frome rule, dominion, empire, and authoritie above man : Moreover, seeing that nether the example of Debora, nether the lawe made for the doughters of Zalthead, nether yet the foolishe consent of an ignorant multitude,¹ be able to justifie that whiche God so plainlie hath condemned ; let all men take hede what quarell and cause frome hencefurthe they do defend. If God raise up any noble harte to vendicat the libertie of his countrie, and to suppress the monstrous empire of Women, let all suche as shal presume to defend them on the same moste certeinlie knowe, that in so doing they lift their hand against God, and that one day they shall finde his power to fight against their foolishnes.”²

As we read this performance of Knox in cold blood at the present day, its wild rhetoric is apt to strike us as unreal and absurd. In the Latter-Day Pamphlets of Carlyle we have the modern counterpart to the Blast against the Monstruous Regiment of Women. What the evil symptoms of modern society were to Carlyle, a Papistical ruler was to Knox,—the sure sign that a nation was for the time deserted of God and given up to its own way ; and it is in the genius of men like Knox and Carlyle to ignore every point of view save that which engages their own passion. The time will doubtless come when the jeremiad of Carlyle will seem as irrelevant as that of Knox to the conditions of the passing hour.

¹ It may be said in passing that Knox's contempt for the “masses” frequently shows itself in his different writings. His phrase, the “rascaille multitude” is well known. It was to the middle classes the Reformers looked for support in the revolution at which they aimed.

² *Works*, iv. 417.

The *Blast* remained unanswered for fully three years. In the letter to Cecil already quoted Knox mentions that he has heard of a forthcoming Counterblast; and, in fact, about the very day he left Dieppe an answer actually appeared.¹ Like Knox's own pamphlet the answer appeared anonymously; but the writer was soon known to be John Aylmer, one of the Marian exiles, who subsequently became Bishop of London. If Knox's *Blast* illustrates the coarse temper of the age, the answer equally illustrates the gross adulation to which even men like Sir Thomas More and Cranmer could stoop when they had occasion to address princes. Aylmer's book is altogether a more careful and more reasonable performance than that of Knox, and in one particular passage where he points out that, as a limited monarchy, England is specially guarded from the drawbacks incident to female government, he went to the root of the whole question. Yet of the two performances that of Knox certainly does most credit to the character of its author. Before publishing his reply Aylmer had carefully waited the accession of Elizabeth, and in the handling of his subject he is so eager to make himself agreeable to the new queen that in his own words "the remembrance of her virtues makes him forget the matter."² In his zeal to please Elizabeth, however, he does not think it necessary to abuse Knox. "For I have that opinion of the man's honestie and godlynes," he says, "that he will not disdaigne to heare better reasons, nor be loth to be taught in anything he misseth." Aylmer, it should be said, was himself something of a Puritan,

¹ For its full title see above, p. 230, *note*.

² Aylmer, in fact, inculcates absolute passive obedience.

and in this very pamphlet has spoken freely of the worldly glories of bishops, so that he was not without some bonds of sympathy with his opponent. Nevertheless, as a controversial tract free from all the violent personalities which were the fashion of the time, Aylmer's "Harborowe" should receive the full credit it deserves.

But the most interesting commentary on Knox's manifesto is the fact, that his opinions on female government are identical with those of the greatest political thinker of the sixteenth century, Jean Bodin. "Women," says Bodin, "ought to be removed as far as possible from the majesty of government; for the rule of women is contrary to the laws of nature, which has given to men prudence, strength, greatness of soul, and force of mind to govern, but to women has denied these gifts."¹ Bodin, moreover, supports his judgment on precisely the same grounds as Knox—the laws of nature, and the teaching and example of Pagan and Christian antiquity. "The law of God," he says, "not only deprived women of sovereignty in the state, but of rule in the household, since it clearly subjects women to the control of their husbands." And in a sentence worthy of Knox he continues, "As often as the Almighty declares that he is about to take bitter revenge on the enemies of His name he threatens to subject them to the sway and the laws of women, as if that were the last of all evils and calamities."² Appealing to the example of the Romans, he proceeds, "Moreover, the laws of the Romans kept women a great way off from all civil duties and public functions, not only because they are wanting in prudence, but also be-

¹ *De Republica*, p. 1154 (edit. Franc. 1591).

² *Ibid.* pp. 1154, 1155.

cause the functions of men are contrary to the sex and the modesty of women. Nothing ever threw the Romans into greater confusion than when Helio-gabalus introduced his mother into their assembly, not that she might record her vote, but that she might behold the most august assembly of the State.”¹ As he warms to his subject he throws off sentences to the full as vigorous as anything to be found in the *Blast*. “But if subjects be so poor of spirit and dull of wit as to endure the deepest ignominy of a woman holding the helm of the State, it follows that a woman must also hold rule in the private circle; for what is permitted in public will always be permitted in private.”² And, again, “There never, indeed, was a people so hopelessly torpid that it approved the rule of women, even though they have endured a female governor.”³ As a citizen of France, whose constitution excluded women from the throne, Bodin was naturally prejudiced against female government;⁴ but he was too great a thinker to be entirely swayed by prejudice in the discussion of any important political question. What his testimony proves is, that to thoughtful men of the sixteenth century, the past experience of the world showed that female government is against the nature of things,

¹ *Ibid.* p. 1154.

² *Ibid.* p. 1156.

³ *Ibid.* p. 1157.

⁴ The well-known Thomasius devoted one of his academical addresses to the University of Leipzig to the discussion of the prejudices which had swayed the minds of writers who had discussed the question of female government. Catholics and Protestants alike, he shows, had determined the question according to the position of their own Church at the time. Bodin, he thinks, was influenced in his opinion by Elizabeth's rejection of his patron, the Duke of Anjou, when everything seemed to point to a speedy marriage. — *M. Jacobi Thomasi Praefationes sub auspicio Disputationum suarum in Academia Lipsiensi recitatae* (Leipzig, 1683), p. 332.

and an evil from which people should pray to be delivered.¹

But though Knox had the greatest political thinker of the century on his side, his opinions found little favour with a personage whom at this moment he was specially eager to conciliate. It was with the support of Elizabeth that he hoped to see the Gospel rooted in Scotland as it was now rooted in England. But alike from her prepossessions and from the dictates of policy, Elizabeth regarded with distaste the personal character and religious opinions of Knox. His diatribe against the regiment of women was hardly needed to prejudice her against all he could say or do ; but it doubtless converted her distaste into an angry dislike which Knox was not courtier enough ever to succeed in turning aside. It was when Knox preferred his request for a passport through England that he discovered how deeply he had offended the new queen. The man who wrote such books, he was told, was no safe person in any country, and he could have no permission to set foot in England. But the story of Knox's relation with Elizabeth subsequently to the *Blast*, throws such light on his character that it is of more value to us than the book itself. His position, it will be seen, could hardly have been more awkward. It was now his first desire to conciliate Elizabeth ; yet in the name of reason and Scripture he had announced to all the world the essential inferiority of her sex, and their disability for government. It was one of those turns in a man's affairs when he must show of what stuff he is made. A few quotations

¹ As is well known, Montaigne thought as contemptuously of women as Knox and Bodin. This was probably almost the one subject on which all three could have found common ground.

from his own letters will show how he came out of his dilemma.

In the letter to Cecil from Dieppe already quoted, he thus refers to the prejudice that his pamphlet had raised against him. "But I have written (say you) a tresonable booke against the Regiment and empire of Women. . . . The writinge of that booke I will not denye; but to prove it tresonable I think it shall be harde. For, Sir, no more doe I doubt [the truth of my principall proposition, than I doubt] that this was the voice of God, the which first did pronounce this penaltie against Women, 'In dolor shalt thou beare thy children.'" ¹ At the outset of his argument in the *Blast* we have seen that he had excepted from his general ban such "as God by singular priveledge and for certain causes, known onlie to himselfe, hath exempted from the common ranke of women." Of this loophole he now availed himself in the case of Elizabeth; but as to his main position he is absolute as ever. Three months later, on his return to Edinburgh, he enclosed with a second letter to Cecil another to Elizabeth, in which the following passage occurs:—

"Bot yett, gif I should flatter your Grace, I war no friend, bot ane deceavable traitor. And thairfore of conscience, I am compelled to say, that neather the consent of people, the process of tyme, nor multitude of men can establishe a law which God sall approve [*sic*]; bot quhatsoever he approveth by his eternall wourde, that salbe approved, and quhatsoever he condempneth salbe condempned, thocht all men in earth wald hasard the justificatioun of the same. And, thairfore, Madame, the only way to reteane and kepe those benefites of God, aboundantlie poured now of laitt

¹ *Works*, vi. 18.

dayis upoun you, and upoun youre realme, is unfeanedlie to rander unto God, to his mercie, and undeserved grace, the [whole] glorie of this your exaltatioun. Forgette youre birth, and all tytell which thairupon doeth hing; and considder deiplye, how for feir of your lyef, ye did declyne from God, and bow till idollatrie. Lett it not appeire ane small offence in your eyes, that ye have declyned from Christ Jesus in the day of his batteill. . . . It apperteneth to you, thairfore, to ground the justice of your Authoritie, nott upoun that law, which from year to year doeth change, but upoun the eternall providence of Him, who, contrair to nature, and without your deserving, hath thus exalted your head. Gif thus, in Goddis presence, ye humill your self, as in my heart I glorifie God for that rest granted to his afflicted flocke within England, under you a weik instrument; so will I with toung and penn justifie your Authoritie and Regiment, as the Holy Ghost hath justified the same in Debora, that blissed mother in Israell.”¹

But it was not only Elizabeth to whom Knox gave offence by his ill-timed publication. Calvin also was made to smart for the appearance from Geneva of such books as *The First Blast of the Trumpet* and Goodman's *Obedience of Subjects*. In the beginning of 1558 he sent to Elizabeth a copy of his *Commentaries on Isaiah*, with a dedication to herself.² It was of the highest importance to the Reformed Churches on the Continent that Elizabeth should be induced to look upon them with favour, and in his capacity as head of all these churches, Calvin sent his book as a propitiatory offering. To his

¹ *Works*, ii. 30, 31.

² It had been originally dedicated to Edward VI.

mortification his gift was not only coldly received, but severe things were said of himself by Cecil, which induced him to write a letter in self-defence to that minister. The chief ground of Elizabeth's displeasure was that he had permitted such books as those of Knox and Goodman to issue from Geneva, and to this complaint he addressed his letter. "I had no suspicion of the book," he says, "and for a whole year was ignorant of its publication. When I was informed of it by certain parties, I sufficiently showed my displeasure that such paradoxes should be published; but as the remedy was too late, I thought that the evil which could not now be corrected, should rather be buried in oblivion than made a matter of agitation. . . . If my easiness has occasioned any offence, I think there would have been just reason to fear, lest if the subject had been brought under consideration by reason of the thoughtless arrogance of one individual,¹ the wretched crowd of exiles would have been driven away not only from this city, but even from almost the whole world; especially since the mischief could not now be remedied, otherwise than by applying a mitigation."² These words of Calvin would never come to the ears of Knox; otherwise we may rest assured that even Calvin would have received a plain reminder of his undue concessions to worldly policy. As it was, the friendship of the two Reformers remained unbroken to the end; and each, we may be certain, retained

¹ The individual is Knox. The original is *ob inconsideratum unius hominis fastum*.

² *Zurich Letters*, Second Series, p. 35 (Parker Soc.). The translation is that of the Parker Editor.

Beza, writing to Bullinger as late as 3rd September 1566, speaks of Elizabeth's continued aversion to the Church of Geneva, and refers it to the same cause,—the publication in Geneva of the books of Goodman and Knox.—*Ibid.* p. 131.

a cordial admiration for the special endowments of the other.

As far as its direct political results are concerned, the extravagant sally of Knox may count for little or nothing. There was no need of a diatribe against the regiment of women to determine the religious policy which Elizabeth had resolved to follow. Of religious emotion she was probably as destitute as human being can be; and the one-sided enthusiasm of the Puritan party ran counter to the deepest instincts of her nature. When Calvin and Beza attributed to the productions of Knox and Goodman her coldness to Geneva, they assigned to them an importance which they did not deserve. It was the whole body of Genevan doctrine, its religion, its theology, its politics, that were opposed at once to her own conception of life and to her position as monarch of the English people. His *Blast against the Monstruous Regiment of Women* was emphatically Knox's own personal concern; for it was owing to it that thenceforward Elizabeth regarded him as the incarnation of everything in religion and politics that her soul most loathed.¹

¹ To complete the history of his *First Blast* it may be added that on the 6th August 1561 Knox wrote another letter to Queen Elizabeth in which, as Mr. Stevenson says, "Knox almost seeks to make Elizabeth an accomplice with him in the matter of the *First Blast*" (*Works*, vi. 126). In 1571 his pamphlet was again thrown in his teeth by his enemies, but he still kept to his original position that Elizabeth sat on the throne only by a special exercise of Divine Grace.—Calderwood, *Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland*, iii. 51-54 (Wodrow Society).

CHAPTER VI

PAMPHLET ON PREDESTINATION—KNOX AND ANABAPTISM

THE story of Knox's labours on the Continent would not be complete without some notice of his lengthy pamphlet on Predestination. As has been more than once said, Knox was no systematic theologian. In the development of dogma his pamphlet would hardly deserve even a passing mention, since even the Protestant Church of Scotland went straight to Calvin for the creed on which it rests.¹ As a part of his own biography, however, this production of Knox cannot be wholly ignored.

From the beginning of the religious revolution of the sixteenth century the question of Freewill and its kindred topics had been prominently before the mind of Europe. Predestination was as rooted a conviction in Luther as in Calvin and Knox. It was on this question that Erasmus first crossed swords with Luther, maintaining that freewill was at once the condition of all moral life and the true doctrine of the Bible and the Church.² But it is in the system of Calvin that

¹ As will afterwards appear, this statement requires some modification.

² *Hyperaspistae Diatribes libri duo contra servum arbitrium Martini Lutheri*. Erasmus's concluding words in this discussion are interesting and characteristic. "Quid vero loquitur Scriptura? Non dicit, inanis

the doctrine of Predestination assumes a supreme place in the religious consciousness. As is well known, it was only by degrees that Calvin reached his final conviction that Christianity must stand or fall with a belief in the divine foreordination. In the earlier editions of his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* this doctrine has no such importance assigned to it. At once as a logician and a leader of the Church, however, Calvin was eventually led to make Predestination the basis of his theological system. Only with this foundation, he reasoned, could we have an organic whole, which could satisfy at once the mind and heart of believers. Entrenched behind this solid wall of dogma, the new Church might hope to hold its own against the vast authority and perfected organisation of the Church of Rome.

By the date when Knox first went to Geneva, Calvin's views were fully formed on the central doctrine of his system. To call it in question was to lay the finger on the very ark of God—a crime at once against Church and State, for which death or exile was the only sufficient penalty. In 1551 Jerome Bolsec had been driven from Geneva for "certain wild views he had maintained regarding freewill and predestination."¹ But the most formidable critic of this particular doctrine of Calvin as well as of the whole scope of his system was Sebastian Castalio, or Castellio. Once a resident

est omnis conatus hominis, nihil refert quomodo vivas, Deus aut servabit si statuit, aut perdet si decrevit, sed ita loquitur: *Convertimini ad me, et ego convertar ad vos*: et convertimini ad correptionem meam. . . . Ut finem voluminis faciam non hic deprecabor lectoris iudicium, et exigam obsequium, quemadmodum fecit Lutherus, sed quidquid a nobis dissertum est, Ecclesiae Catholicae submitto, paratus corrigere si quid excidit a veritate discrepans."—*Opera Omnia*, x. 1536 (Leyden, 1706).

¹ Roget, tome iii. liv. ii. pp. 158, 159. These are the words of the Company of Pastors before whom Bolsec was cited.

in Geneva and on friendly terms with Calvin, Castalio was now settled in Basel, where in comparative security he could let his voice be heard on the burning questions of the time. Under the pseudonym of Martinus Bellius he had denounced Calvin's conduct in the affair of Servetus in terms which could never be forgiven. In 1557, during Knox's own sojourn in Geneva, Castalio prosecuted his attack still further by the publication of an anonymous pamphlet in which he sought to throw ridicule on the whole doctrine of election and predestination.¹ So effectively did he put his case that Calvin thought it necessary to publish an answer in French and another in Latin in the course of the same year. In that year also there fell into the hands of Theodore Beza a manuscript, the contents of which he lost no time in making known to Calvin.² This manuscript consisted only of a few pages, but from its very brevity was the better fitted to accomplish its end. It was made up of fourteen articles, all dealing with the subject of Predestination and its kindred questions, and professing to be extracted from the various published writings of Calvin. To each of the articles the writer appended a criticism of his own, and closed with a few remarks on the demoralising tendency of Calvin's doctrines as exemplified in the lives of those who embraced them.³ Calvin and Beza had certainly good reason to be indignant at the method in which their adversary conducted his case. Of the fourteen articles quoted from Calvin only one was in Calvin's own words, and that unfairly disjointed from the context.

¹ Ferdinand Buisson, *Sébastien Castellion, sa vie et son œuvre* (Paris, 1892), tome ii. pp. 106, 107. This pamphlet has not been preserved, and we are aware of its existence only through Calvin's reply to it. Calvin himself had little doubt that the author was Castalio.

² *Ibid.* p. 111.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 111, 112.

The others were in the writer's own words and cannot be considered an adequate account of Calvin's real opinions. Moreover, the sneering levity of the whole production was of itself sufficient to exasperate men like Calvin and Beza, to whom the spirit of mockery was the breath of the enemy of God and man. It is proof how seriously they regarded the assault now made on their faith, that, in the course of the following year, both Reformers replied to their anonymous opponent and put forth their full strength in rebutting his criticism.¹

During Knox's residence in Geneva, Predestination was thus one of the absorbing topics of the day, and had even, it would seem, become the gossip of the street. Writing to a correspondent as early as 1554, Calvin says that a woman had publicly reviled him as a heretic because he made God the author of sin.² And now Knox himself had to do battle for the great principle of their common faith. In 1559 a request came from England to the exiles in Geneva that they would prepare a reply to a certain Englishman who had written against the doctrine of Predestination.³ The production to which they referred was the work

¹ The title of Calvin's reply is: *Calumniæ nebulonis cujusdam quibus odio et invidia gravare conatus est doctrinam Joh. Calvini de occulta Dei providentia. Johannis Calvini ad easdem responsio. MDLVIII. Ex officina Conradi Badii.* Calvin first gives the articles and comments of Castalio, and then proceeds to deal with them in turn. No one can read Castalio's remarks without being struck with what I have called their "sneering levity." It is a fair question which is the more offensive method in controversy—the intemperate abuse of opponents found in Calvin or the cold sneer of Castalio. M. Buisson, in his able and learned book, totally ignores this unattractive side in Castalio, and, as it seems to me, is most unjust to Calvin all through.

² *Corp. Ref.* xv. 364.

³ *Reg. de Cons. de Genève*, 9th Nov. 1559. Laing adduces good reasons for supposing that this English Anabaptist was one Robert Cooke, of whom Strype has given some account.—Knox, *Works*, v. 16, 17.

of an Anabaptist, and is entitled by Knox "The Careless by Necessity." From the beginning of the Reformation Anabaptism had been a ghastly spectre which dogged the steps of all the Reformers who had broken with the ancient Church. In Germany the religious orgies of John of Leyden and his followers had been an unfortunate commentary on the teaching of Luther, and compromised the new gospel from its very birth. With extraordinary rapidity opinions similar to those of the Anabaptists had made their way throughout western Europe. They had crept into Geneva in spite of the summary proceedings taken against all such as professed them. In England they were so numerous that in one town alone Latimer declares that he had heard there were as many as five hundred of them.¹ From Knox we learn that in Scotland, at least as early as 1557, they were a standing danger to true believers.² Adversaries so widely spread, therefore, could not be contemptuously ignored, and it was determined among the exiles that to one of their number should be assigned the task of preparing a reply.

It is a singular tribute to the gifts and acquirements of Knox, that out of so many distinguished men, some of them theologians of the highest standing, he, a Scotsman, should have been chosen to be the champion of their faith to the people of England. As early as the year 1557 Knox had expressed his intention of dealing with the opinions of the Anabaptists,³ so that it was with no reluctance he undertook the duty now entrusted to him. But no publication could issue from Geneva without the consent of the authorities of the city. On the 9th November 1559, therefore, per-

¹ *Sermons before Edward VI.* (Arbers' Reprint), p. 103.

² *Works*, iv. 270, 271.

³ *Ibid.*

mission was duly sought from the Council, who gave orders that the matter should be laid before the ministers.¹ On the 13th, permission was granted, but with the two curious provisions that the book "shall not bear to be *imprinted at Geneva*, and also that the said Whittingham and Barron promise to be responsible in case that the said Treatise, composed by the said John Knox, should be found to contain anything contrary to the catholic and orthodox doctrine."² Two reasons may be assigned for this excess of caution on the part of the Genevan Council. Elizabeth had now been a year on the throne of England, and they had doubtless heard that certain books put forth by Englishmen in their city had not met her approval. But it is also possible that they might have their own fears, lest on a subject that required such wary going the English champion might unwittingly compromise the orthodoxy of the city.

It was with a due sense of the great issues at stake that Knox undertook the task assigned to him. As with others of his works, his preface is the most impressive and dignified part of his performance. In the following sentence he sets forth the height of his argument in a manner not unworthy of the champion of a great cause. "But yet I say, that the doctrine of God's eternal Predestination is so necessarie to the Church of God, that, without the same, can Faith neither be truely taught, neither surely established; man can never be broght to true humilitie and knowledge of himself: neither yet can he be ravished in admiration of God's eternal goodnes, and so moved

¹ *Reg. de Cons. de Genève.*

² These extracts have been more than once printed, and may be found in Laing's *Knox*, v. 15, 16.

to praise him as apperteineth. And therefor we feare not to affirme, that so necessarie as it is that true faith be established in our heartes, that we be broght to unfeigned humilitie, and that we be moved to praise him for his free graces receaved; so necessary also is the doctrin of God's eternall Predestination. For first, there is no way more proper to buyld and establish faith, then when we heare and undoubtedly do beleve that our Election (which the Spirit of God doth seale in our hartes) consisteth not in ourselves, but in the eternal and immutable good pleasure of God. And that in such firmitie that it cannot be overthrowen, nether by the raging stormes of the world, nor by the assaultes of Sathan; nether yet by the wavering and weaknes of our own fleshe. Then onely is our salvation in assurance, when we fynd the cause of the same in the bosome and counsell of God."¹

Predestination is thus the grand constitutive idea that underlies the theological system known to the

¹ *Works*, v. 25, 26. Pascal's famous passage on Predestination, which is to the same purport as the above quotation from Knox, is well known. Vauvenargues, another French moralist, though of a very different type, in a singularly interesting discussion of the problem of freewill, expresses opinions which are also identical with those of Calvin and Knox. "L'homme, indépendant, serait un objet de mépris; toute gloire, toute ressource, cessent aussitôt pour lui; la faiblesse et la misère sont son unique partage; le sentiment de son imperfection fait son supplice éternel. Mais le même sentiment, quand on admet sa dépendance, fait sa plus douce espérance; il lui découvre d'abord le néant des biens finis, et le ramène à son principe, qui veut le rejoindre à lui, et qui peut seul assouvir ses désirs dans la possession de lui-même."—Considering these mysteries, he goes on to say, we are ready to exclaim with St. Paul: "O profondeur éternelle, qui peut sonder tes abîmes? qui peut expliquer pourquoi le péché du premier homme s'est étendu sur sa race? pourquoi des peuples entiers, qui n'ont point connu la vie, sont réservés à la mort? pourquoi tous les humains, pouvant être sauvés, sont tous exposés à périr?"—*Traité sur le Libre Arbitre*.

world as Calvinism.¹ The other great Protestant doctrine—justification by faith—Calvin held in common with Luther and Zwingli: it is by the unflinching acceptance of the Divine foreordination in all its logical consequences that Calvinism has a place apart from every other system of Christian thought. Of all the developments of Christianity, Calvinism and the Church of Rome alone bear the stamp of an absolute religion. No other churches of Christendom, therefore, have a history that impresses the imagination like the history that belongs to these two. It is by its vast organisation, its long predominance, the greatness of individual figures, that the Church of Rome imposes itself even on those who by nature resent the principle of authority on which it rests. Anglicanism and Lutheranism rest their claims on the happy compromises they respectively made with mediæval Christianity.² On the other hand, by its absolute acceptance of the facts of nature and human life, conjoined with a religious fervour surpassed in no other religion, Calvinism has offered to the world a spectacle of moral grandeur which in its way is more impressive than the mundane glories of Rome. While Rome made compromises at all points by its practice of Confession, its doctrine of Purgatory, its intercession of saints, Calvinism unconditionally accepted life on the terms on which it was offered, and wrought them into a religion that supplied a motive

¹ On the difference between the Catholic and Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination, see Moehler's *Symbolik*, vol. i. chap. iii. (Eng. translation, 1843).

² The Anglican and Lutheran communions have produced no such typical figures as immediately occur to the mind when we think of Calvinism and the Church of Rome. It may be fairly contended, indeed, that in this lies their very excellence.

power unsurpassed by any creed that has been known among men. It is the common distinction of Calvinism and the Church of Rome, that they excite abhorrence or devotion in greater degree than any other form of Christian belief.

In an appeal to popular instincts the doctrine of Knox and Calvin can never show to advantage. That God has foreordained whatever comes to pass, that the fall of man should have been part of a pre-arranged system, that some should be chosen vessels of grace, and others of wrath out of the mere good pleasure of the almighty disposer, and that what is done in time should hold good to all eternity,—these are propositions at which the mind instinctively revolts as soon as they are stated. The arguments against such a system are so plausible and palpable that they carry conviction on their very face. If God left man no free will, God and not man is the author of sin. How can man be held responsible, and justly suffer punishment, when he had no choice but to do what he did? Can there be a supposition more monstrous than eternity of pain for sin, which yet is no sin, done in the few years that make the span of human life on earth? Such objections to Calvin's system are so easy of comprehension that a skilful disputant could hardly fail to carry the bulk of his readers with him. Moreover, the abstract character of the whole order of Calvin's ideas, the close and subtle reasoning by which these ideas are wrought into a logical whole, demand a trained faculty for their intelligent apprehension. Accordingly, we find Castalio and Knox's Anabaptist both taunting their opponents for employing arguments which plain men could not follow; while Knox and Calvin, on

their part, bitterly accuse their adversaries of deliberately appealing to the ignorant passions of the people.

Yet starting from the premises admitted by both sides in the controversy, the conclusion is unavoidable that Calvin and Knox had both fact and logic on their side. Both sides admitted an omnipotent personal God, and a divine revelation made through the medium of the Jewish people. But if God be really omnipotent, no other free agent can have a place in the round of the universe. Whatever logical contradictions may follow, this magistral fact cannot be gainsaid. In the appeal to revelation, also, Calvinism has no less sure ground to stand upon. In the very fact that one people should have been chosen before others to receive the oracles of God, we have implied the whole scheme of Calvinistic doctrine,—predestination, election, reprobation, and the rest. It was by individual texts, not always well chosen, that Knox and those who thought with him, strove to prove that their doctrines embodied the true teaching of Scripture. But the real strength of their appeal to Scripture was the fact that their leading ideas, though never set down in express terms, were present in the consciousness of the Hebrew people from the time they had a history. If it was true that God had chosen them to be the medium of His dealings with mankind, they, on their part, never failed to realise that they were predestinated, elected, and set apart for destinies distinct from those of the other nations of the earth.

But if Calvin had the better of his opponents in the appeal to supernaturalism, he is not without support when the appeal is made to the laws of

nature and the conditions of man's existence. Under changed names the essential doctrines of Calvin's system virtually appear as the latest creed that modern science declares to be in the inevitable logic of things. Instead of the terms predestination, election, and reprobation, we now hear of heredity, environment, natural selection, survival of the fittest. Through heredity and environment man is in the grasp of a power as fatal in its working as the will of an omnipotent God. It is but the simple truth that beyond their own willing some men are marked for happiness and virtue, and others for vice and all the tragic inheritance of life. If men have power to guide their steps aright, Calvin set it down to the special and spontaneous grace of the Deity: the modern man of science says that we are good and wise through a lucky combination of circumstances over which we ourselves have no control. Calvinism taught that men, unsaved in this life, have no second chance in the next: modern science does not follow man beyond the "mortal passage"; yet it would say that Calvinism is in perfect accordance with the nature of things in maintaining that, as the tree falls, so must it lie. If in the constitution of man there be a balance towards vice and crime, it is the law of things that the balance shall never be adjusted. By ignoring a personal God the man of science escapes the contradiction between the Divine justice and the Divine omnipotence; but he has to face another antinomy which was also a stumbling-block of Calvinism. For him, as for Calvin, man is determined by forces beyond his control, yet no less than Calvin he recognises that responsibility is what distinguishes men from brutes. Men are not free, yet

they must be held responsible for their actions—such is the dilemma that besets science and Calvinism alike. And in both cases, strangely enough, the dilemma, instead of paralysing those who acknowledge it, seems beyond every other philosophy to call forth the energies of the human spirit. On its own showing, science should lead to a mere dumb acceptance of things as we find them: as a matter of fact it has filled man with a sense of his own resources, and reinforced all the springs of his being. Similarly, it has been the constant taunt against Calvinism that in denying freewill its logical consequence is unqualified fatalism; yet the whole course of Calvinism shows that alike in the case of individuals and nations it supplies thews and sinews beyond every creed the world has seen. Again, in its reading of human nature Calvinism is equally in harmony with what we are now told has been the real evolution of humanity. Calvin explained human nature as it is by one event in time, the fall of mankind from an original state of perfection: science finds its explanation in no single accident but in the essence of human nature itself. Yet the conclusion of both is the same, the original sin of the one being but the theological equivalent for the selfish instincts of the other.¹

But underlying all the religious controversies of

¹ Speaking purely as a disinterested critic of that view of human nature represented by the Christianity of Calvin and the Port-Royalists, Ste. Beuve has the following interesting passage: "Abstraction faite de l'explication religieuse, le Christianisme, en tant que doctrine morale, connaissait bien la nature humaine et son vice; il s'en rendait compte, à beaucoup d'égards, bien mieux que la philosophie qui a succédé, et dont le défaut capital, sous prétexte d'honorer l'homme, a été de le flatter et de le flagorner en masse. De cette méconnaissance du sujet est résultée l'absence de toute précaution morale et sociale: et c'est ainsi que l'ancienne société a péri.—*Port-Royal*, iv. 59, *note* (edit. 1867).

the sixteenth century, there were principles often hardly present to the minds of the disputants themselves, which were in reality the heart of the matter at issue between them. The difference between Calvin and Castalio, and between Knox and the Anabaptist, was not merely one of doctrine and dogma: their essential difference lay in the spirit with which they respectively regarded human society itself. Both Castalio and Knox's opponent represented the more rational section of the Anabaptist following. In some respects they were more in harmony with modern ideas than either Calvin or Knox. They often made a more intelligent use of the Bible itself than either of these Reformers, and they advocated a toleration in the matter of religious belief which the present condition of society enables us to approve. But in these principles which we can now safely applaud, Knox and Calvin saw tendencies whose immediate result would be the dissolution of Church and State alike. In that free handling of Scripture on the part of their opponents, they saw let loose that spirit of indifferent inquiry, which may safely have free play at the present time; but which would then have imperilled the existence of every Church that had broken with Rome. If their theology was thus a disintegrating force, the religion that came of it was equally fitted to work havoc in such communities as embraced it. The philosophic Christianity of Castalio and the passive pietism of the better Anabaptists were religions little fitted to hold their own against the mighty forces still at the command of the Church of Rome. For the great Protestant leaders on whom lay the responsibility of their Church and society, men like Castalio were dangerous speculators, who gave their dreams to the

world to gratify their own vanity, and with an utter disregard of their probable effect.¹ When we denounce the Catholics and Protestants of the sixteenth century for their intolerance, we forget that the only sect that advocated perfect liberty of thought in religion was that of the Anabaptists, whose general principles were subversive of all human confederation.²

In logical consistency therefore, in essential religious seriousness, in the sense of the conditions of a stable society, Knox had undoubtedly the advantage of his opponent. On the other hand, in many of the details of the controversy the Anabaptist has clearly the best of it. Following the example of Beza in his reply to Castalio, Knox takes his opponent's treatise statement by statement, and closes with him with all the zeal and dexterity of a trained disputant. As has been said, it is to Calvin he refers as the authoritative exponent of the doctrines he upholds; and it is on Calvin's logic he draws when he is most sorely put to it by his adversary's criticism. But as the Anabaptist equally defers to Castalio, it will be seen that their duel was one between two minor champions. As far as Knox is concerned, therefore, its only interest is the light it throws on his habits of thought, and the test it supplies of his intellectual force.

The main objection of the Anabaptist to Predestination is that which had been maintained by Melancthon,—that it is the stoical doctrine of necessity under another name. In the following passage we have the purport of Knox's reply. "O, say you,

¹ Calvin's favourite term of abuse for Castalio was *fantastique*, an unpractical dreamer. The very choice of this epithet shows in what light Calvin saw the whole drift of Castalio's speculations.

² It was one of the bitterest reproaches thrown against the Anabaptists that they disapproved of capital punishment for heresy.

ye take away the worde of Stoicall Necessitie, but yet ye affirme the selfe same thing which they affirmed. I answer, If ye can make no difference betwext the omnipotent, moste perfect, most just, and immutable will of God, and the opposition of sterres, called constellation, you have evill profited, not onely in God's schoole, but also in those artes in which some of you wold seme to be subtile. Do we affirme, that of Necessitie it was that Pharaο, after many plagues susteined, should with his greate hoste be drowned? that Nabuchadnezer should be transformed into a brute beast? that Cyrus should first destroy Babilon, and after proclame libertie to the people of God (after their long and dolorous captivitie) because the influence of the sterres did lead them to that end? Or do we not rather most constantly affirm, that the æternall counsel of God, his immutable decree and most holie will (which onely is the most perfect rule of all justice and equitie), did bring all these things to passe by such means as He had appointed, and by his Prophetes forespoken."¹

Having dealt with his opponent's main objection, Knox discusses his criticism in detail through four hundred pages. A drearier performance could hardly be imagined. By the time we have reached the end of the discussion, the endless iteration, the abstract nature of the subject, the verbal quibbling on the part of both disputants, the violence of language, which seems to stun the very sense, leave us in a state of blank bewilderment, which may be a tribute to the skill of the disputants, but which has not conduced to the pious feelings of the reader. A few specimens of Knox's logic will show that though in his theology

¹ *Works*, v. 33, 34.

he had broken completely with the Middle Age, he was to all intents and purposes a schoolman by his modes of thought and intellectual interests.

In the following passage it will be seen that Knox's opponent drives him into a somewhat pitiful shift. "We (so taught by the Scriptures) with reverence do affirme, that God for just causes, albeit unknownen and hid to us, hath rejected a parte of men. But you,¹ making no mention of any cause, affirme, that we holde 'That He hath created the most part of the world (which is innumerable) to no other end but to perdition;' in which shameles lie your malice passeth measure. For neither do we rashly define the number of the one nor of the other; howbeit the Scripture in dyvers places affirmeth Christis flocke to be the litle flocke, the number to be few that findeth the way that leadeth to life. This notwithstanding, I say, we use not boldly to pronounce, whether of the nombres shalbe greater, but with all sobrietie we exhorte the people committed to our charge, not to followe the multitude to iniquitie."²

Nor can it be said that Knox shows to advantage in the following example of his logic. "The proposition and conclusion of this writer are bothe one, to witte, 'God hath not rejected nor reprobated anie man.' His reasones and argumentes (as the reader may perceave) are: 'For that were against the nature of God,' which he thus proveth, 'God causeth others to beare, and therefore he beareth.' And so bringing his argument from this similitude: 'God maketh beastes love their birthes, therfor he loveth his birthes: but all men are the birthes of God; for God is the Father of Adame, of whom are al men borne. There-

¹ The Anabaptist and his sect.

² *Works*, v. 40.

for he loveth all men. If he loveth, then did he reprobate none, for that shoulde declare that he hated and abhorred, and were more cruell then a wild beast.' These be thy arguments (blasphemous mouth), in answering whereto, if I shall seme to excede modestie, let the godlie consider that thy horrible blasphemies are intolerable. And first, I call the heaven and earthe, the insensible creatures, and the judgment of reasonable men to witness with me, how beastly be thy cogitation of the eternall Godhead, when thou saiest, 'God must love his birthes, because he hath given a naturall inclination to all beastes to love their birthes.' If thy reason be good, then must God forget some of his birthes in their youth, and reject all care of them. For that same nature giveth God to some fowles, as the book of Job doth witnes in these wordes (speaking of the Estrich), 'Which leaveth his egges in the earth, and maketh their hole in the dust, and forgetteth that the foote might scatter them, or that the wild beast might breake them. He sheweth himself cruell unto his young ones as they were not his: and is without feare, as if he travaled in vain. For God hath deprived him of wisdom, and hath geven him no parte of understanding.'"¹

In the following passage, the last which it is perhaps necessary to quote, we are carried back to the full Middle Age. "Amongest many foolishe and most desagreing similitudes which your Captein Castalio useth for probation of his purposes (for in such doeth stand the chief ground of his divinitie), none can be more foolish nor further repugning to that which he and you would prove, then is this: 'If God should punish a man because he hath a beard,

¹ *Works*, v. 56, 57.

should any glory redound to God thereof, seeing he hath given us beards himself?' Hereof you will inferre, that if God punish sinne, which he hath willed or appointed to be, then can he not be just. But let us examine if your simile doeth agree even in the chief pointes, in the which, if it prove any thing, it must agree. First, we knowe that the beard of man was created by God; but who amongst us did yet ever affirme that sinne and iniquitie was made or created by God? Sinne, we confesse, was foresene, yea, and ordeined in the incomprehensible counsell of God, and that for the most just and the most righteous end and purpose. But that it was made or created by God, that are ye not able to prove by our doctrine. Thus doeth your similitude halt in the chief member; for they must be both alike God's creatures and creation, if God shalbe bound no more to punishe man for having of the one, then for having of the other. Moreover, the beard of man so springeth, groweth, and abideth of a mere natural motion, that albeit men slepe, eat, drink, do, or what soever actions pleaseth them (not taking care or solicitude of their beard); it cometh nevertheless to that state and perfection that nature will suffer. But hath man sinne none otherwayes then thus? Doeth man sinne, I say, having neither will, mynd, nor appetite to sin? or doeth not sinne procede from so voluntary and corrupt motion, that the will, the judgement, the understanding, and appetite, yea, the whole man, and all his cogitations, are subjecte to sinne, and bent upon iniquitie at all tymes? Be judges yourselves how well do the partes of your similitudes agree. Thus with greater modestie have I answered your foolishnes, than your scoffing scurrilitie deserveth." ¹

¹ *Works*, v. 359, 360.

Passages like these inevitably carry us back to Knox's former master, John Major; and it is mainly for this reason that this obsolete pamphlet deserves our attention in the attempt to understand Knox. Moreover, the intellectual habit exhibited in this discussion must be kept distinctly before our minds in the attempt to explain how the special theological system of Knox was eventually accepted by the bulk of the Scottish people.

BOOK IV

KNOX IN SCOTLAND—THE RELIGIOUS
REVOLUTION

1547-1560

CHAPTER I

EVENTS IN SCOTLAND FROM 1547-1555

AFTER the fall of the Castle of St. Andrews in July 1547, it seemed that Scotland might look forward to a season of comparative tranquillity. Those who had given trouble at home—the friends of England and the advocates of the new religion—were safely bestowed in the galleys and prisons of France. Henry VIII., who had scourged Scotland as no English king had done since Edward I., had died at the beginning of the same year, and left as his successor a boy of ten, whose advisers might find their hands full enough without adding Scotland to their cares. The barbarous English invasions of late years had knit Scotland and France more closely than ever against their common enemy; and, so long as the French alliance should last, the existing Church had no reason to fear the same fate that had overtaken her sister Church in England. There was, therefore, some reason for that “song of triumphe” which, according to Knox, was now in the mouths of the victorious party :—

Preastis content yow now ; Preastis content yow now ;
For Normond ¹ and his cumpany hes filled the galayis fow.²

¹ Norman Leslie, the leading actor in the assassination of Beaton.

² Knox, *Works*, i. 206.

A few years, or even months, were to show that their triumph was premature, and that unforeseen forces were preparing which might give a far different direction to the future of the country. Between 1547 and 1555, the date of Knox's first visit to Scotland after his exile, these forces were already so powerful that the eventual turn of affairs had again become uncertain. The Regency of Mary of Lorraine, contrary to her every wish, involved the revolution of 1559-1560, by which Protestantism became the authorised religion of the country and union with England a certainty. No single man did more than Knox to bring about these results. To understand his work in its fulness, therefore, a clear view is needed of the course of events in Scotland during the twelve years that intervened between the date of his banishment and that of his final return in 1559. It is to what happened in the country before his visit in 1555 that we have now to turn at this point of his history.

The very month that the French galleys left St. Andrews an English force marched northwards on the old errand. The Protector Somerset was as convinced as Henry VIII. that England could never be safe while Scotland worked in common with France. At this moment, moreover, there was special reason why England should desire that marriage between Edward VI. and the young Queen of Scots, which had been the object of Henry's relentless policy towards Scotland. In France Henry II. had lately succeeded his father, and was eager to recover Boulogne, which had been taken by the English in 1544. That his hands should not be strengthened by Scotland was thus the paramount concern of those now in charge of the affairs of England. In the first week of September 1547

Somerset entered Scotland with a force of 18,000 men¹ with the object of either forcing the country into an alliance, or dealing it such a blow as would effectually disable it from lending any material help to France. On the 10th of September was fought the battle of Pinkie, a day almost as disastrous for Scotland as Flodden itself. The havoc wrought by the English army during the following days filled up the misery of the Scots, to whom a feeble ruler and a divided nobility² seemed at last to leave no course open but unconditional submission to their immitigable foe. As it happened, affairs at home demanded Somerset's immediate presence in London, and he left Scotland the same month in which he entered it. In one of his objects he had certainly succeeded. England could have no fear for many a day of any molestation on the part of the Scots. On the other hand the union, which had been the main object of his expedition, was further off than ever, for at no moment had the feeling between the two countries been more bitter than now.

Though Somerset had left the country, he had no intention of giving up his conquest. By leaving detachments of his troops behind him, and fortifying certain strong places, he showed his intention of one day following up the advantage he had already gained. With an enemy in her midst, and with no resources of her own, Scotland had but one way out of her despair. Immediately after the battle of Pinkie the Regent Arran, in council with the Queen-mother, Mary of Lorraine, the French ambassador d'Oysel, and the

¹ Froude, *Hist. of England*, chap. xxiv.

² Even after the battle of Pinkie, as will immediately be seen, there was still a strong English party in Scotland. Tytler gives satisfactory proofs of this. See his Notes and Illustrations, No. II. vol. vi. of his *Hist. of Scotland*.

leading nobility, determined to seek aid from France.¹ It was always the policy of France to play off Scotland against England, and at this juncture this policy was peculiarly opportune. Before the year closed a body of Frenchmen arrived in Scotland, with the promise of a second force speedily to follow; and in June of 1548 these reinforcements came, to the number of 6000 men. According to an Englishman writing from Scotland, these troops were "as good men of warr as any be cownttyd in Crystondome, and of dyvers nacions."² Strengthened by these allies, the Scots were now able to turn their arms successfully against the English, whose chief stronghold was the town of Haddington. On the arrival of the French fleet in June, it was to the recovery of this town that the united forces of Scotland and France at once directed all their energies.

It soon appeared that the French King had his own objects to serve in his ready response to the prayer of the Scots. At a meeting of the Scottish Estates held in the Abbey of Haddington, outside the town, d'Oysel made known his master's desire. It was simply that the young queen should be sent for safety to France, where in due time "for the mair perfytt union and undissolubill band of per-

¹ Leslie, *Hist. of Scotland* (Ban. Club), p. 203. This decision, says Leslie, was peculiarly agreeable to Mary of Lorraine and d'Oysel, because it was "ane reddye way opinit to obtene that thing quhilk thay maist eirnestlie so long tyme had couveit, and gone about to bring to pas, quhilk was that the young Quene mycht be send to France, thair to be keped, quhill sho shuld be mareid at the Kingis pleisour." M. Philippon (*Hist. du Règne de Marie Stuart*, i. 113, 114) makes the French ambassador in London, Odet de Selve, first suggest to his Government that the young queen should be brought to France. But it is probable that Leslie is right in saying that this notion had long been in the mind of her mother.

² *Hamilton Papers*, ii. 602 (1892).

petuall amitie, lig and confederation" of the two countries, she should be married to the Dauphin of France.¹ In the event of his offer being accepted, Henry bound himself to defend Scotland against all her enemies, as he would defend France herself. Considering the state to which the country had been reduced, and the deep debt that was owed to France, it is not wonderful that Henry's proposal should have been supported by the majority of patriotic Scotsmen. "In ane voice," the Estates accepted the proposed alliance, though on the express understanding that her ancient laws and liberties should remain intact whatever might be the future relations of the two kingdoms.² The next month (20th August) Mary landed in France, where a twelve years' residence was to make her French in heart and tastes, and incapable of sympathy with the prevailing tendencies of her native country. "France and Scotland," exclaimed Henry II., when he heard of her arrival, "are now one country."³

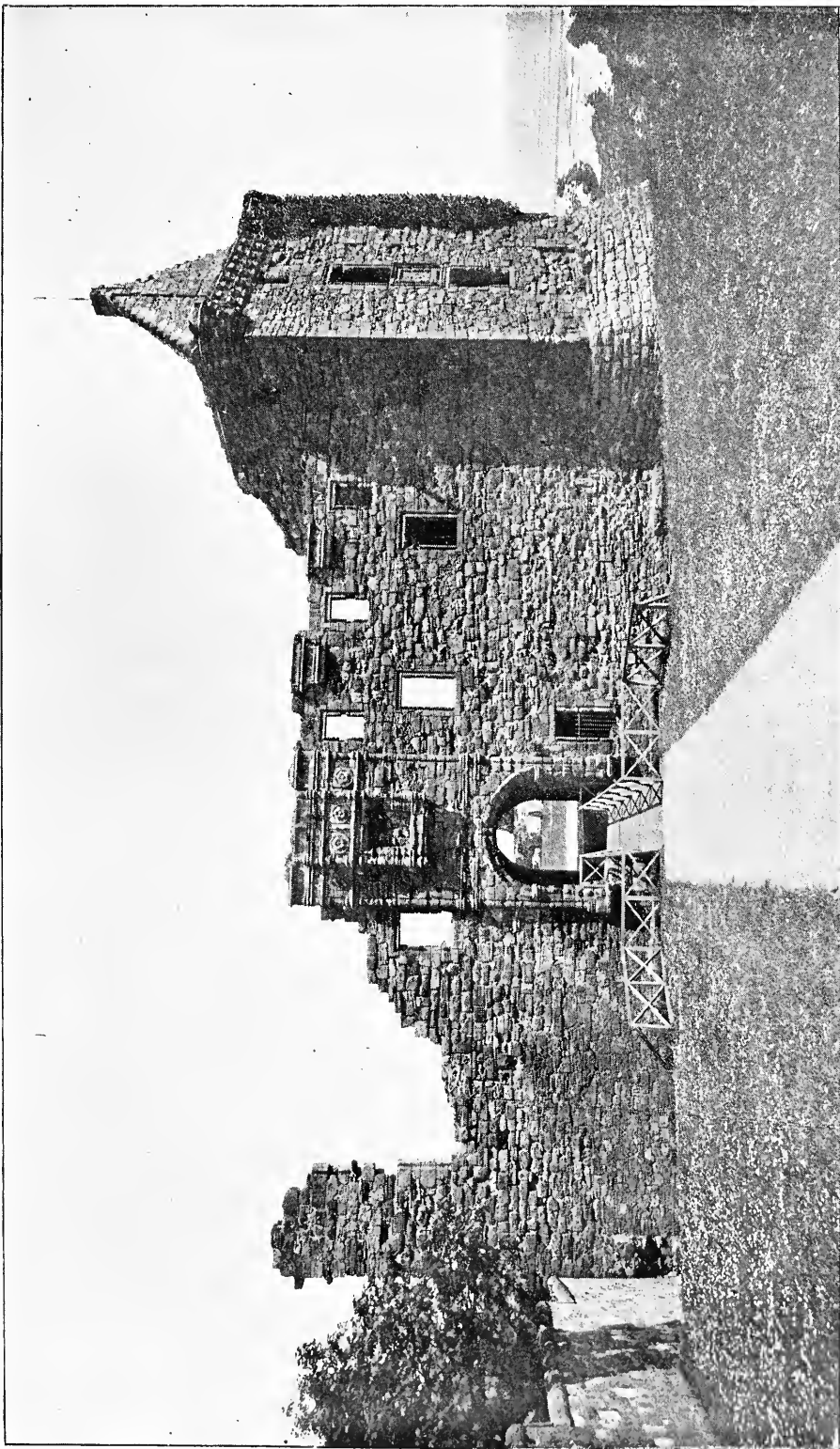
Though the assent of the Estates is said to have been given "in ane voice," we know that in reality there was no such unanimity among the leading persons in the country. In spite of all the misery inflicted by England, there was still a considerable section who were bound to her by personal obligation, and who thought her a more natural ally than a power divided by a stretch of ocean as formidable in that day as the breadth of the Atlantic in our own. To

¹ *Acts of the Parl. of Scotland*, ii. 481.

² *Ibid.*

³ "La France et l'Écosse ne font plus qu'un." Quoted by Philippon (i. 119). In an edict concerning Scotland (31st December 1549) Henry speaks of Scotland as "en l'obeissance de nostre filz le dauphin de Viennois."—Teulet, *Papiers d'État relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Écosse*, i. 205.

the Regent Arran himself the French marriage was so objectionable, that only circumstances over which he had no control could have moved him to sign his name to the treaty. During the whole period of which we are speaking there was no Scotsman whose public virtue was more sorely tried than that of Arran. Between him and the throne the only barrier was the girl who was now in the hands of one whom he knew to be at heart opposed to all the interests of his own house. As long as the young queen remained in Scotland, there was a possibility that her marriage with his own son might have brought the house of Hamilton the pre-eminence it so long coveted. By the agreement in the Abbey of Haddington this hope was decisively foreclosed, and he could now only wait the issue of events. Arran himself, as his career shows, was a weak rather than a bad man; but he was beset by family connections whose interest it was that the house of Hamilton should hold its own among the great families of the Scottish nobility. Chief among his abettors was his half-brother John Hamilton, formerly abbot of Paisley, but since the murder of Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and, therefore, head of the Scottish Church. Though probably quite as able an ecclesiastic as Beaton, Hamilton was hampered by divided interests, which crippled his action as a public man. As a churchman he was bound to regard France as an indispensable ally against heretic England. On the other hand, every encroachment of France in the affairs of Scotland was a diminution of the influence and prestige of his own house. The new French alliance, therefore, could not meet his approval, and we shall see that at a critical period he did his utmost to stay



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his brother from weak compliance with further demands on the part of the French King. It was not long before Arran felt that any influence he had previously possessed in the country, ceased with the new understanding between Scotland and France. "The governor [Arran]," wrote a correspondent to Somerset, "repenteth of his covenant with France;"¹ and again, that he is "like one that holdeth a wolf by the ears, in doubt to hold and in danger to let go."²

The one person in the country who had every reason to be satisfied with the French alliance was the Queen-mother, Mary of Lorraine. As we shall presently see, the people themselves were soon convinced that in their French confederates they had enemies far more dangerous than the English themselves; but in the present train of affairs the Queen-mother saw the assured fulfilment of all her wishes as a mother, as a Catholic, and as a Guise. From the time she had been left a widow (1542) she had shown a prudence and dignity that ensured her a chief place in the conduct of affairs. It is only when her conduct is compared with that of Margaret Tudor, left a widow in precisely similar circumstances, and with that of her own daughter Mary Stewart, that we realise the intrinsic superiority of her character and intelligence. To maintain the Catholic Church and the French ascendancy in Scotland had been her consistent aim since the death of James V. In concert with Beaton she had foiled the Regent Arran in his approaches to England and the new religion. With the death of Francis I. in 1547 she

¹ *Calendar of State Papers* (Scotland), vol. i., 26th November 1548.

² *Ibid.* 29th November 1548.

undertook to play a bolder game which required all the tact and discretion she undoubtedly possessed. From the beginning of the reign of Henry II. the family of Guise held a position in France which led them to form schemes that involved the future of Europe. It was through their niece, Mary Stewart, that the brothers Guise reckoned on attaining the end of their ambition.¹ By her marriage to the Dauphin their influence in France would be largely increased, and Scotland would become an appanage of their own family which they might turn to their own account as occasion might suggest. Into these schemes of her brothers the Queen-mother entered with a zest which proves that her heart was set on their realisation. Long before the Scottish Estates at Haddington agreed to send their queen to France and to marry her to the Dauphin, her mother had been quietly at work winning the consent of the leading persons in the country. "And already," wrote D'Oysel to the Duc d'Aumale, Mary of Lorraine's brother, "the said Lady, while waiting for the assembly of the Estates, which is to take place at the end of the present week, in this town of Edinburgh,² has made sign with their own hands the Earl of Angus, George Douglas his brother, the Earl of Cassilis, the Cheroaeders,³ and Lord Selton,⁴

¹ Speaking of the Guises at this date, Martin (*Hist. de France*, viii. 363, 364) says:—"Tout leur réussit: ils envahirent l'armée, l'Église, les finances par eux et par leurs affidés; leur essor rapide semblait bien lent encore à leur impatience. . . . Pleins d'aspirations vagues et illimitées, les princes lorrains saluaient l'ère de revolutions qui se levait sur l'Europe comme l'aurore de leur grandeur."

² They really met on 7th July.

³ M. Teulet says that this is probably some Scotch word strangely disfigured.

⁴ Probably George, sixth Lord Seaton, provost of Edinburgh.

and several other lords and barons, and seven or eight bishops and prelates of this kingdom, not only the treaty of marriage between Monseigneur the Dauphin and the said little queen, but also that she shall be delivered to him so that he may see her as often as he may please to demand her. And this is a point, Monseigneur, which the said Lady, to the best of my comprehension, has managed with great dexterity to prevent a great murmur and protest which the said lords were within very little of making.”¹ By the decision of the Estates on the 7th of July, it seemed that the object of the Guises was already gained; but in all their calculations they had taken no account of forces which no scheming could countervail, and which in the end proved the ruin of a policy unscrupulous in its methods and purely selfish in its ends.

By dint of hard fighting the French and Scots drove the English from one stronghold after another. But the reverses of the English were not an unmingled joy to the Scots. Wherever they went, the French mercenaries carried it with as high a hand and wrought almost as much havoc as an invading enemy. “The Frenshe break down the houses so about Haddington, and usith them silfes so ungentilly towards their partners the Scottes, that in a maner the Governor repenteth of all together, saving he hathe so begon, that of his honour it must come to some end.”² “As for the pour comens they dare not wink ones,—hanging, heading, drawing is so threatyned unto them.”³ This is the report of an Englishman, who naturally said the worst he could

¹ Teulet, i. 672.

² *Hamilton Papers*, ii. 616; Henry Johnes to Somerset, 7th August 1548.

³ *Ibid.*

of those who were inflicting daily losses on his countrymen; but the Queen-mother herself bears even more emphatic testimony to the excesses of the French soldiery. In a letter addressed to her brothers, the Duc d'Aumale and the Cardinal of Guise (12th November 1549), we have the following interesting description of the life of the Scottish peasant and the miseries he suffered at the hands of the French soldiery.

“In this connection it is needful that I should tell you that if the King does not issue some order to the cavalry which he has here, our country will be unable to endure the evils which the soldiery inflict. For it is necessary that you should know that our peasants possess nothing of their own, that they remain on the land for only five or six years,¹ and that during that time the poor acquire what they can in order to live. They are tenants and they must pay their rents to their masters in cheese and barley; so that the oats on which they live alone remain to them. They [the French cavalry] eject them from their houses, and have never paid a *liard* for the feeding of their horses. They burn all the wood they find in the houses, such as benches, chairs, tables, and articles of the same kind. For eight years this wretched country has suffered from war, and every day it is burned by the enemy. I promise you that this state of affairs is unsupportable; the inhabitants are sunk in despair, and sometimes take away their own lives.”²

¹ Cf. Major (*Hist. Maj. Brit.* lib. i. cap. vi.): “Praeterea in Scotia rusticorum domus parvae tanquam casae sunt, et id rationis est, terras non habent perpetuas, sed solum conductitias, seu ad firmas pro iv. vel v. annis, secundum quod domino soli placet.”

² Teulet, i. 703. The quarrel between the French troops and the citizens of Edinburgh in the autumn of 1548 is another proof of the

In the history of the period of which we are speaking, the significant fact is the dissension that grew up between the Scots and their ancient allies, the French. The future development of Scotland depended on her choice between France and England as the power to which she should eventually incline. By this actual experience of what Frenchmen really were,—aliens in race and speech, regarding Scotland as a barbarous country to be made use of as France saw need,—the Scottish people saw for the first time what the French alliance would really imply. The experience was not forgotten, and when, a few years later, the policy of Mary of Lorraine stood fully declared, the old hatred against England gave place to a feeling as bitter and jealous against the French. In this transformation of the national feeling, swelled by the enthusiasm of a new religion, we have the only satisfactory explanation of the revolution of 1560, which gave Scotland the special character she now bears among the nations.

In the peace of Boulogne (April 1550), concluded between England and France, Scotland was also one of the contracting parties. By the conditions of the treaty¹ England agreed to evacuate Scotland, and to demolish the strongholds that had been garrisoned by her soldiers. The war had lasted seven years, and at no previous period had an English war been carried on by the Scots at greater sacrifice and at greater disadvantage. Alike from policy and good feeling, the Queen-mother was bound to rejoice at the prospect of

strained feelings between the two peoples. The quarrel is variously recorded by Knox, Leslie, and Buchanan; but they all agree in attributing it to a misunderstanding between the Scots and the French.

¹ The treaty was signed by England and France on 24th March, but the peace was not proclaimed in Scotland till 20th April.—Keith, i. 439.

a period of tranquillity in the country. She had the instincts of a good ruler,—the love of order and justice, and the desire to stand well with the people; and the interest of the country coincided at this time with her own ambition. If France was to be supreme in Scotland as she desired, the sooner the French soldiers were out of the country the better, since every day they remained the more bitter would the feeling between the two countries become. Peace concluded, therefore, she ordered the removal of such of the French bands as were no longer needed for the ends she had in view.¹

The Queen-mother was now at liberty to proceed with that policy which to this point had been attended with such good fortune. So long as Arran was the chief of the State she was hampered in the courses she might see fit to pursue. To place herself in Arran's stead, therefore, was the next step towards the attainment of her end. In September of the same year (1550) she proceeded to France with the express purpose of gaining the support of Henry II. to her assuming the regency.² Along with her she took a large following of the leading Scottish nobles, whose

¹ Leslie, p. 233.

² Leslie says that the object of her visit was that "scho mycht congratulat and rejoise with the King of France and hir friendis thair, and also to visite the Quene hir dochter, bot most princepallie to prepair and fynd all moyens, be the quhilkis sho mycht obtane the governement of the realme of Scotlande and be regent thair of, as it so came to pas eftirwart" (*Historie*, pp. 234, 235). Bishop Leslie was the trusted adviser of Mary Stewart, and may be safely regarded as an unimpeachable witness for the conduct of her mother. Hill Burton (iii. 492, edit. 1867) fell into an error regarding Leslie which has been repeated by other historians. He makes Leslie Bishop of Ross and Scottish Ambassador in France in 1550. The person who at this time filled these two offices was David Panter. Leslie was in France about this time, but he was merely a student in the University of Poitiers. See the account of him given by David Laing in his *Knox*, ii. 600.

presence would show the feasibility of her claim.¹ As the Guises were now all-powerful at the French Court, Henry readily furthered a scheme which fell in with his own interests as well as theirs. In accordance with the decision taken, Panter, Bishop of Ross, Sir Robert Carnegie, and Gavin Hamilton, Commendator of Kilwinning, were employed to approach Arran before the Queen-mother's return.² On condition that he demitted the regency, he was himself to receive the dukedom of Châtellherault, and his son the command of the Scottish guard in France.³ To be set aside in this fashion was at once an insult to his manhood and to his family ambition, yet Arran was constrained to accept the conditions proposed to him. The main object of her journey attained, the Queen-mother returned to Scotland at the close of November 1551, after an absence of more than a year.

By the arrangement made with Arran he was to demit the regency when Mary attained the age of twelve; but so eager was the Queen-mother for the office that she could not even wait till that time should expire. Immediately after her return "sho laborit secreitlie at all the lordis handis, boith spirituall and temporall, to aggre and gif thair consentis to hir to be admittit regent of the realme of Scotlande, during the rest of the minoritie of the Quene hir dochtir; and that sho mycht be receaved thairto quhosone the yeris of the tutorie suld be run furth and endit, and soner gif law wald permit the samin; or in cais the Governour mycht be persuadit for favour, pleasour or guid deid, befor the tyme thairof war run out, to leif the samyn; and for this effect sho maid syndrie promiseis of gret rewardis, with privie bandis to the

¹ Leslie, p. 235.

² *Ibid.* pp. 237, 238.

³ *Ibid.*

lordis particularlie ; be the quhilk sho drew almost the hoill nobilitie of Scotland to be of hir opinione, and to subscribe secretlie with hir.”¹ Through Panter, Bishop of Ross, she sought to persuade Arran to meet her wishes ;² but Arran was not disposed to abandon a position which placed him within such easy reach of the crown itself. At this time, also, his half-brother, the Archbishop, was at his side to hold him to the course which family interest prescribed.³ Unable to persuade the Regent to lay down his office of his own accord, the Queen-mother raised a point which curiously proves how bent she was on her purpose. Her daughter would not reach the age of twelve till 1554, but should not the year before her birth be reckoned as an actual part of her life? Summoning an assembly of the Scottish nobles, the Queen-mother submitted this question for their consideration.⁴ At the same time, as Scotland was now virtually a province of France, the point was also laid before the Parliament of Paris.⁵ Both bodies came to the same conclusion. In the case of ordinary inheritance, ran the edict of the Parliament of Paris, it was right and fitting that years should be dated from the moment of the child’s seeing the light. In the case of princes it was otherwise, since expediency, supported by the testimony of all history, proved that it was wise to reckon a prince’s life from the earliest date possible.⁶

¹ Leslie, pp. 244, 245.

² *Ibid.*

³ The Archbishop had been recently restored to health by the famous Jerome Cardan, who had been brought all the way from Italy for this purpose. Randolph, the English resident in Scotland, has given a curious account of the methods which Cardan took with his patient. Among others, the Archbishop was fed on young whelps and hung by the heels for certain hours each day. Randolph’s letter is printed in full by Tytler.—Letter L., Notes and Illustrations, No. VIII. vol. vi.

⁴ Leslie, pp. 245, 246.

⁵ Teulet, i. 264 *et seq.*

⁶ *Ibid.* i. 264 *et seq.*

So great was the pressure now brought to bear on Arran that he had no other course but to surrender. A large majority was on the Queen-mother's side, and she had France at her back to emphasise her demand.¹ On the 12th of April 1554, some seven months before her daughter reached her twelfth year, Mary of Lorraine at last attained her end. On that day Arran formally demitted his office before the Estates, expressly summoned in Edinburgh to carry out the transaction.² As a compensation for his loss of dignity he was confirmed in the dukedom of Châtelherault, and recognised as heir to the throne in the event of the death of Mary Stewart. "A new and till that day unheard-of spectacle," says Buchanan, "was this to the Scottish people; for the first time was a woman by the desire of Parliament promoted to the government of the Kingdom."³

No sooner was Mary of Lorraine in the seat of authority than she gave clear indication of the policy she meant to pursue. "Bot the Quene regent," says Leslie, "shortlie thairefter begouth to use the counsall of these Frenche men, Dosell, Rubie,⁴ Welemort,⁵ moir nor of the nobilitie of Scotland, and of ane called Monsieur Bonet, quhome sho maid governour of

¹ In December 1553 Henry II. wrote to Arran on the subject of the regency, and on the 22nd March 1554 the young queen wrote from France commanding him to demit his office. The most powerful of the Scottish nobility were bribed by the French king.—Teulet, i. 416.

² Leslie, p. 246.

³ *Rer. Scotic. Hist.* p. 305. In consistency with his views on the regiment of women, Knox expresses the same idea in his well-known remark that the Queen-mother's coronation was "als seimlye a sight (yf men had eis), as to putt a sadill upoun the back of ane unwrely kow" (i. 242).

⁴ De Roubay. He was made Vice-chancellor, and was entrusted with the keeping of the great seal.—Leslie, Keith.

⁵ Villemore. He was appointed Controller.—*Ibid.*

Orknay thairefter ; quhilk maid thame to conceave sum jolesie aganis the Quenis gouvernement, evin in the beginning.”¹ But it was not only the nobility who were jealous of the encroachments of France in the affairs of Scotland. Now that the danger from England was removed, the presence of the French in the country was a constant source of irritation to the people at large. How widely this irritation was spread is proved by the fact that in 1555 (June 20) an Act of Parliament was passed with the object of checking its further growth. “Forasmuch,” this Act ran, “as divers seditious persons have in times bypast raised among the common people murmurs and slanders, speaking against the Queen’s grace, and sowing evil bruit anent the Most Christian King of France’s subjects sent unto this realm for the common weal and suppressing of the old enemies forth of the same, tending through raising of such rumours to stir the hearts of the subjects to hatred against the Prince,” etc.

Confident in the resources behind her, the Queen-Regent steadily pursued her aim of blending the two peoples and reducing Scotland to a province of France. In 1556 she laid a proposal before Parliament, which, if adopted, would have ensured the success of all her plans. This was to create a standing army, which should be maintained by a permanent tax on the property of the country.² The manner in which the suggestion was received should

¹ Leslie, p. 251. It is to be specially noted that Leslie, as being friendly to the Queen-Regent, was not inclined to exaggerate the tendencies of her government that eventually led to her failure. Other contemporary writers, such as Buchanan and Knox, emphasise much more strongly her evident desire to subordinate Scotland to France.

² Leslie, Buchanan, Keith.—A standing army had existed in France as early as 1439, when it was created by the Ordinance of Orleans.

have shown the Regent the dangerous way she was going. Three hundred barons, assembling in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, despatched two of their number, the lairds of Calder and Wemyss, to lay before her their objections to her proposal.¹ So resolute was their protest, that the Regent saw fit to abandon a project that would inevitably have hastened that breach with her subjects which was bound to happen sooner or later from the courses she was following. Meanwhile her abortive attempt only deepened the jealous suspicion, already so firmly rooted, that she was ruling Scotland in the interest of a foreign power.

From this sketch it will be gathered at what point Scotland stood when Knox arrived in the autumn of 1555. But before we can grasp the significance of the whole situation a similar sketch must be given of the religious developments of the country throughout the same period. As will afterwards be seen, the political and religious development of Scotland are so inextricably blended in the revolution of 1560, that only by tracing them in some detail can that revolution be understood.

Even though Cardinal Beaton had lived his natural life, the course that religion eventually took in Scotland could hardly have been different. Yet, happening at the time it did, his death was a serious loss to the ancient Church. His successor in the metropolitan see of St. Andrews² was opposed to Mary of Lorraine in the very desire she had most at heart. As a Hamilton, he could neither approve of the French marriage nor the French domination in Scot-

¹ Leslie, Buchanan.

² Hamilton was not enthroned till 1549.

land. The two chief persons, in State and Church respectively, were thus prevented from that common action against heretics which in the last years of Beaton had borne such notable consequences. As long as his brother was in power Hamilton would not be disposed to extreme measures against the English and Protestant party, for the reason that it was a counterpoise against the majority who favoured the alliance with France. When Mary of Lorraine became Regent, it was even still more important that the anti-French party should be conciliated in the interests of the house of Hamilton. In contrast to his predecessor Beaton, therefore, it could be said of Hamilton that he was not a bloodthirsty pursuer of heretics.¹

But if the Primate's hands were thus in a measure tied in the matter of heresy, this was still more true of the Queen-mother herself. In her schemes for the aggrandisement of her own house and nation, it was necessary that she should carry with her the bulk of the Scottish people. But the Protestants were already such a considerable party that they could not be ignored as a factor in her calculations. We shall see how far she found herself forced to go in conciliating a party which in her heart she feared and detested as holding opinions fatal to all stable government. Only when the time came when she thought she could dispense with their support did

¹ *Knox*, i. 279. Knox did not make this statement, as is sometimes said, but merely quotes from Hamilton himself, who asserts that he was generally blamed for not dealing more stringently with heretics. It may be said here that Sir James Melville in his *Memoirs* unduly exaggerates the power of Archbishop Hamilton between 1550 and 1559. Melville was not in Scotland during that period, and he consequently speaks only from the reports of others. In this period of his *History of Scotland* Principal Robertson attached much more importance to Melville than he deserves, and has thus misled many subsequent writers.

she show that, Catholic and absolutist as she was, her hand had been held against her own conviction. Between the conflicting aims of the Queen-mother and Hamilton, therefore, heresy had on the whole much freer scope than in the days of the primacy of Beaton.

In the public documents, both of the Church and the State, we are able to trace the steady progress of the new religious opinions among all ranks of the people. We have seen the important testimony by the Papal legate Grimani, who visited Scotland in 1543. Scotland, it seemed to him, was in a fair way to follow England in giving up the Christian religion.¹ We have also seen the measures taken by Beaton in the case of Wishart and the sufferers at Perth. Yet a fortnight after Beaton's death there was passed by the Privy Council an Act against invading, destroying, or withholding of Abbeys, etc.² It was passed, we read, because "it is dred and ferit that evill disponit persons will invaid, distroy, cast doun, and withhald Abbays, Abbay Places, Kirkis, alswele parish Kirkis as otheris religious places, freris of all ordouris, nunries, chapellis, and utheris spiritual men's houses, aganis the lawis of God and man." To prevent all such sacrilege, proclamation was to be made at every market cross that offenders should be punished by the law of the land. Long before the iconoclastic frenzy of 1560, therefore, the sacking of churches was not unfamiliar to the people of Scotland.

But if the disaffection to the Catholic Church was so great as this Act implied, more pressing measures were certainly needed to amend the evil. During

¹ See above, p. 65.

² *Privy Council Records*, i. 28, 29.

March of the following year a Provincial Council of the Scottish clergy met at Edinburgh and drew up an urgent petition calling on the Regent to see that the country was cleared of heresy. It is "not unknown," this petition runs, "to your Grace and Lordships that sundry parts of this realm, which have ever been Catholic since the beginning of the faith to these days, is now infected with the pestilentious heresies of Luther's sect and followers, and so persevere unpunished till divers of them are become open disputants against the Sacraments, and specially against the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar; others of them, abjured and relapsed, banished of old, now come pertly without any dread, not only in the far parts of the realm, but also to the court and presence of your Lordships, and some times preach openly and instruct others in the said damnable heresies; which, if the same be not remedied by your Grace and Lordships, by your help and assistance to the jurisdiction spiritual, it will spread, increase, and rise daily more and more, and always the longer the more difficult to remedy." ¹

Such were the means taken by the clergy to deal with their enemies who assailed them from without. At the same time they were fully aware that in the Church itself was the root of all the mischief they were seeking to cure. The records of a Provincial Council held in Edinburgh, November 1549, place this beyond question. Certain of the men who sat in the assembly would have done honour to the Church in its best days,—Reid, Bishop of Orkney, in part the founder of the College of Edinburgh, Quintin Kennedy, who, as we shall see, afterwards crossed swords

¹ *Ibid.*; Robertson, *Stat. Eccles. Scot.* i. cxlvi. note.

with Knox, John Wynram, subsequently one of the foremost men in the Reformed Church, and John Major (by proxy), second to no scholastic theologian of his time.¹ From the fact that such men were still found in the Church we may fairly conclude that there were many others less eminent, whose lives were in perfect keeping with their profession. Yet the self-revelation in the records of this Council leaves but one impression,—that an institution which had so far forgotten its original ends was beyond the hope of self-recovery, and was foredoomed to the fate that was so soon to overtake it. In the sixty-eight statutes passed by the Council, we have from the hands of the clergy themselves unimpeachable evidence of the degradation to which their order had fallen. These statutes “were prefaced by a remarkable confession, that the root and cause of the troubles and heresies which afflicted the Church were the corruption, the profane lewdness, the gross ignorance of churchmen of almost all ranks.² The clergy, therefore, were enjoined to put away their concubines, under pain of deprivation of their benefices; to dismiss from their houses the children born to them in concubinage; not to promote such children to benefices, nor to enrich them, the daughters with dowries, the sons with baronies, from the patrimony of the Church. Prelates were admonished not to keep in their households manifest drunkards, gamblers, whoremongers, brawlers, night-walkers, buffoons, blasphemers, profane swearers.”³ The burning of

¹ Robertson, *Stat. Eccles. Scot.* ii. 82-84.

² Et cum [duae] potissimum malorum causae et radices appareant —quae tantas nobis turbas [et] haeresium occasiones excitavere, nimirum in personis ecclesiasticis, omnium fere graduum, morum corruptela ac vitae profana obscaenitas, cum bonarum literarum artiumque omnium crassa inscitia, atque ex his praesertim duobus capitibus multi abusus,” etc.—*Ibid.* ii. 81.

³ *Ibid.* i. cxlix.

Adam Wallace the following year, on the Castlehill in Edinburgh, may be regarded as one of the results of this renewed activity on the part of the Church.

An Act of Parliament passed in 1551 (Feb. 1) shows us how the new opinions spread. "Forasmuch," it runs, "as there are divers printers in this realm that daily and continually print books concerning the faith, ballads,¹ songs, blasphemous rhymes as well of Kirkmen as temporal and others, tragedies² as well in Latin as in the English tongue," it is decreed that no such things be printed without being submitted to the authorities.

From the Records of another Provincial Council held at Edinburgh, January 1552, we are led to suppose that the efforts of the Church had been attended with some degree of success. By the providence of highest God, we read, by the singular good offices of the chiefs of the State, by the vigilance and zeal of the prelates, heresies had been at length checked in their growth, and almost laid to sleep.³ Yet, in the same breath, we are told that neither the lower clergy nor prelates are sufficiently versed in Scripture "to instruct the people accurately in the Catholic faith, and in things necessary to salvation, or to set right those who have strayed from the way."⁴ From another canon we learn that "even in the most populous parishes, very few of the parishioners come to mass or to sermon; that in time of service, jesting and irreverence go on within the church, sports and secular business in the porch and the churchyard."⁵

¹ Certain of the "Gude and Godlie Ballads" existed before this date and may be specially referred to.—Professor Mitchell, *The Wedderburns and their Work, or The Sacred Poetry of the Reformation*, p. 13.

² Lyndsay's "Tragedie of the Cardinal" was printed in 1551.

³ *Stat. Eccles. Scot.* ii. 136.

⁴ *Ibid.* i. cli.

⁵ *Ibid.*

The most notable outcome of this Council was the approval of the famous Catechism, associated with the name of Archbishop Hamilton, though there is no reason to believe that he was its author.¹ Written in the Scottish dialect, it expounds in simple and attractive fashion the cardinal doctrines of the Catholic Church.² The directions for its use furnish a lively commentary on the accomplishments of the Scottish clergy. Rectors, vicars, and curates are warned against venturing into the pulpit without being assured that they are able to read without stumbling, as otherwise their performance will provoke the jeers of the congregation. By daily practice, therefore, they are to qualify themselves to read the Catechism in such a manner that it may tend to edification.³

The accession of Mary Tudor in July, 1553, did more for Protestantism in Scotland than all the efforts of her two anti-Papal predecessors. As we have seen, the peculiar position of the leaders in Church and State in Scotland prevented hearty co-operation against heresy. To Scotland, therefore, as well as to the Continent, came many who could not follow their religion under the relentless persecution of Mary. Two men are specially named, to whose zeal the new teaching owed a noteworthy impulse in Scotland.

¹ As is implied in the terms of approval, the Catechism had been drawn up previous to the meeting of the Council. Tradition assigns its composition to John Wynram, but there is no satisfactory evidence to this effect.—See Mr. T. G. Law's admirable introduction to his edition of the Catechism, pp. xxxi., xxxii. Professor Mitchell has given good reasons for inferring that Dr. Richard Smyth was "one of those chiefly concerned in the preparation of Hamilton's Catechism, *The Richt Vay to the Kingdom of Hevne by John Gau* (Scot. Text Soc.), pp. xlviii-xlix.

² On the peculiarities in the teaching of the Catechism see Mr. Law's remarks, pp. xxvii. *et seq.*

³ *Stat. Eccles. Scotic.* ii. 137, 138.

William Harlaw, originally a tailor in Edinburgh, had preached as a deacon under the government of Edward VI. Now driven from England, he settled in Scotland and with increasing boldness preached in Edinburgh and other parts of the country.¹ From the prominent part he afterwards took in the religious revolution, and the fact that he was subsequently made minister of St. Cuthbert's, in the suburbs of Edinburgh, we may conclude that he was one of those persons of uninstructed zeal and strong natural capacity by whom revolutions have been carried out in all ages. Among the preachers of the reformed religion in Scotland, John Willock seems to have held the next place in name and authority to Knox. Having begun life as a Franciscan or Dominican Friar,² Willock early adopted the new opinions in religion and settled in England during the reign of Henry VIII. Under Edward VI. he became chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, father of Lady Jane Grey, and one of the licensed preachers, of whom, as we have seen, Knox also had been appointed one. The accession of Mary drove him from England to Emden in Friesland, where he sought to make his living as a physician. We may regard it as a testimony to the character and prudence of Willock that shortly after his settlement in her dominions, Anna, Countess of Friesland, should have sent him to Scotland to negotiate on matters of trade with the Queen-Regent. On this errand he twice came to Scotland, in 1555 and 1556; and in 1558 permanently settled in the country.³ We

¹ Calderwood, i. 303.

² Spottiswoode (*Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, i. 183, Ban. Club), makes him a Franciscan.

³ For the facts of Willock's career see *Wodrow Miscellany*, i. 261-264.

have no detailed account of his doings during his early visits; but the position he afterwards held in the Reformed party is sufficient proof of his zeal and activity.¹ Unlike Harlaw, he was a trained theologian, and along with Knox was challenged by Quintin Kennedy to do battle on the points of controversy between the two Churches.

From this account of the affairs of Church and State in Scotland it will be seen that Knox ran no undue risk when he made his appearance in the autumn of 1555. Such men as Harlaw and Willock were already before him, doing the work to which he now lent his powerful help. During the year of Knox's visit, also, the Queen-Regent gave further proof of her disposition to conciliate the party that was naturally most averse to her policy. For long she had specially addressed herself to gain over those who favoured Protestantism and the English alliance. In 1548, a year after the battle of Pinkie, the Lairds of Bass, Longniddry, and Waughton, had been restored to their lands with this express object,² though they had been proved to be traitors to the existing government. But there was now greater reason than ever that England should have no influence in Scottish affairs. The marriage of Philip of Spain and Mary Tudor (July 1554) was a serious menace to France, which the battle of St. Quentin, three years later, signally proved. Moreover, the Queen-Regent had still ends to gain in her great scheme for converting Scotland into a province of France. Only by such powerful motives can we explain the fact that in 1556

¹ In a letter to James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow (7th April 1559), Quintin Kennedy says that the Scottish Protestants had chosen Willock "Primat of thair religioun."—*Wodrow Misc.* i. 267.

² *Hamilton Papers*, ii. 619.

the Lairds of Brunston, Grange, Ormiston, and Henry Balnaves, all of them directly or indirectly concerned in the murder of Beaton, were relieved of their forfeiture and restored to their estates.¹ But when Mary of Lorraine was thus disposed to persons with whom Knox had been so closely associated, it is evident that, unless he made himself specially troublesome, he ran no great risk of martyrdom.

¹ Leslie, p. 254. Leslie says that they were restored at the special request of Henry II.; but on such a matter he would be entirely guided by the Queen-Regent.

CHAPTER II

KNOX IN SCOTLAND

1555-1556

As we have seen, it was only at the urgent entreaty of Mrs. Bowes that Knox left Geneva and came to Scotland in the autumn of 1555.¹ With Mary Tudor on the throne of England, and Mary of Lorraine at the head of affairs in Scotland, he naturally concluded that the enemies of the Gospel were now supreme, and that his appearance would be only a needless risk to himself and to those who might choose to listen to him. On his arrival in Edinburgh, he learned how greatly he had been mistaken as to the true state of men's minds both in that town and in other parts of the country. "Gif I had not sene it with my eyis," he writes to Mrs. Bowes, "in my awn contrey, I culd not have beleivit it. I praisit God when I was with yow, perceaving that in the middis of Sodome, God had ma Lottis than one, and ma faithfull dochteris than twa. But the fervencie heir doith fer exceid all utheris that I have sene; and thairfor ye sall pacientlie beir, althocht I spend heir yit sum dayis; for depart I can not, unto sic tyme as God quenche thair thirst a litill."²

¹ See above, p. 190.

² *Works*, iv. 217, 218. This letter is dated Scotland, 4th November 1555. We must suppose that Mrs. Bowes was now at

Edinburgh, it would appear, was the first scene of his labours, and here, at the house of one James Sime, he preached to all who chose to listen to him. His audience consisted mainly of persons of substance and social standing. Sime, his host, was a citizen burgess of Edinburgh, and subsequently visited Knox at Geneva.¹ Other hearers at this time were "the Lard of Dun, David Forress, and some certane personages of the toune, amonges whome was Elizabeth Adamsoun, then spous to James Barroun, burges of Edinburgh."² Of the Laird of Dun more will have to be said presently. Forrest had long been a supporter of the new religion, and it was at his house in Haddington that George Wishart had stayed during his memorable visit to that town.³ At this date he held the office of General of the Mint, and was thus a person of some consequence in the city. Barron, as Dean of Guild, also represented the better class of the citizens of Edinburgh.

In the life of every religious reformer the part played by women can hardly be overestimated. Knox had no very exalted notion of the powers of women, yet in every field of his labours—in Berwick, in London, in Geneva, in Edinburgh—we find him the centre of a group of women, whose admiring zeal and substantial support strengthened his hands when his hopes were lowest. In Edinburgh women were now the most enthusiastic of his hearers, some of them, we may conjecture, far outrunning the zeal of their husbands and other connections.⁴ From the letters he wrote to them on his return to the Continent

Newcastle. Knox speaks as if he intended returning to her in a few days. If he did, there is no record of it.

¹ *Works*, i. 268.

² *Ibid.* p. 246.

³ *Ibid.* p. 137.

⁴ Cf. *Ibid.* iv. 245.

we gather how humbly they sat at his feet and accepted him as their guide. To all intents and purposes he was their spiritual director as completely as any priest of the old religion,¹ and when he left them they still continued to ask his advice on points of conduct and doctrine. One letter they addressed to him contained a special request for his opinion as to female attire. He seems to have fully realised the delicacy of the subject, and his answer shows that he knew how to assume that tone of deference and authority which is said to make the art of the spiritual director of women. The first few sentences will indicate how carefully he sought to pick his steps. As we know from the frequent legislation on the subject, as well as from the sarcasms of the poets, the wives and daughters of Scottish burgesses displayed a lively fancy in their personal adornment. But it was to ladies of their social standing that Knox had to lay down the rules of religion on this delicate subject; and the very fact that they had appealed to him on the question, warned him to walk warily if these troubled converts were to be kept steady in the right way.

“The Answer to your Scripture,” he begins, “tuiching the Apparell of Wemen, commanded be the Apostillis Sanct Paule and Peter to be usit of sic as profess godlines, is verie difficill and dangerous to apoynt any certantie, leist in sa doing we either restrane Christiane libertie, or else loose the brydill too far to the folische fantassie of facill flesche. For if we sall condempne sic vane apparell as maist commonlie now is usit amang wemen, we salbe callit rigorous and seveir, and be accusit as too muche in-

¹ Thus, on more than one occasion, he gave his advice as to a wife's relations to her husband.

clynnyng to superstitioun. And gif we sall say that to the cleane all is cleane, and that the externall apparell doith not defyle the inward conscience, then I feir that we salbe patronis to sic as be thair vanitie doith witnes and declair that thay litill understand what is Christiane puritie, whilk doith not onlie studie to keip the self cleane in godis presence, but is also maist cairfull to give gude exampill to uthiris, and to avoid all occasioun of offence and sclander. Thair be sum whilk will not be sene altogether ignorant of Godis Word, and yit, nevertheles, armit as it wer with the exampill of the multitude in apparell, ar mair lyke to courtesinis than to grave matronis.”¹

One meeting among those he now held in Edinburgh seems specially to have remained in Knox’s memory. In Scotland, as elsewhere, the question had arisen among the professors of the new opinions, whether any compliance with the ancient superstition was justifiable by the Word of God. Was it permissible, while holding the truth in secret, to countenance the celebration of the mass, and to communicate after the rule of the Church of Rome? As has been more than once said, this question had been submitted to all the great Reformers, who had given various answers in accordance with their own temperament and creed. Knox had no sooner arrived in Edinburgh than the difficulty was laid before him. At a supper-party specially given by Erskine of Dun, the point was formally debated, and, according to Knox, definitively settled. Besides Erskine and Knox, there were present David Forrest, Robert Lockhart, John Willock, and William Maitland of Lethington. Of Forrest and Willock we have already heard. That William Mait-

¹ *Works*, iv. 225, 226.

land, even in his early youth, should be found in this circle of enthusiasts may well excite our wonder. His father, Sir Richard Maitland, as we learn from Knox, was one of those who were never "persuaded in religioun";¹ and, as his subsequent career shows, he was himself by nature the last man in the world in whom we should expect to find any undue searchings of heart on account of religion. That he is found in the company of men like Knox and Willock was probably due to no spiritual unrest, such as consumed them, but to a restless and curious intelligence which found its natural exercise in the novelties of a new creed. Though not yet thirty years of age, he seems to have taken a leading part in the discussion, Erskine of Dun being probably of the same mind as Knox on the question. In other passages with Maitland Knox had good occasion to know his skill as a disputant, and he testifies that he was "a man of good learnyng, and of scharpe witt and reassonyng."

Knox opened the discussion with the absolute proposition, "that no-wyise it was lauchfull to a Christiane to present him self to that idoll [the mass]." It is to be remembered that the discussion was not a mere academical exercise, whose object was a contest of wits. On the decision accepted, not only the lives and fortunes, but the eternal salvation of all there present and many besides, irrevocably depended. An obstinate refusal to conform to the established religion might still lead to the fate of Patrick Hamilton, George Wishart, and Adam Wallace. We may believe Knox, therefore, when he tells us that on the part of certain of the guests "nothing was omitted that mycht maik for the temperisar." Driven from their

¹ *Works*, i. 137.

other defences, Knox's opponents took their stand on a passage in Scripture which might have staggered a more timid theologian. Paul, at the command of James and other elders, yielded so far to the superstition of the Jews that he paid a vow along with others in the temple at Jerusalem. But Knox had not fought so many battles in vain; and now, as was his custom, he carried his enemies' position by storm. In the first place, he said, to pay a vow was a very different thing from assisting at the mass; the one was idolatry, the other had at times the special command of God. Secondly, it may be questioned whether the advice of James and the action of Paul had the approval of the Holy Spirit. It was certainly the fact, he said, that Paul "fell into the most disperat danger that ever he susteained befor, whareof it was evident that God approved nott that meane of reconcilioun." Well might Maitland exclaim after the embrace of such a wrestler, "I see perfytylye, that our schiftis will serve nothing befor God, seing that thei stand us in so small stead befor man."¹ At this extraordinary supper-party we may say that the keynote of the Scottish Reformation was struck. It was to be a revolution, which in the intention of those who represented its essential principles should know no compromise, but which in spite of them should be fundamentally influenced by a past which they abhorred.

Knox's labours were not confined to Edinburgh. Apparently after the notable meeting just described, Erskine of Dun invited him to his house in Forfarshire, about half-way between Brechin and Montrose. Of this house, associated so closely with the history of the

¹ *Works*, i. 247-249.

Scottish Reformation, only the ancient gateway now stands.¹ George Wishart had doubtless visited it; Knox, Andrew and James Melville, and other ministers less famous, also at different times enjoyed its owner's hospitality. Among the leading personages of the Scottish Reformation, there was no one who inspired in equal degree the respect and affection of all parties with Erskine of Dun. Born in 1508 or 1509² of an ancient and opulent house, he received an education which put him in touch with the best thought of his time.³ Though the main tenor of his life and the unanimous testimony of his contemporaries prove that he was of essentially mild and moderate temper, he began his career with a deed of violence. About the age of twenty he slew in the Bell Tower of Montrose a priest named Thomas Froster. How or from what motives the deed was done we have no means of knowing.⁴ It is uncertain whether he received part of his education abroad; but he at least twice made a prolonged stay on the Continent, visiting France and Italy, as well as other countries.⁵ As early as 1536 Erskine decidedly leant towards the new opinions in religion, for already in that year, according to Knox, he was "marvelouslie illuminated."⁶ Nine years later he was one of those who stood by George Wishart in that preaching mission which was so summarily cut short

¹ *Memorials of Angus and the Mearns* by Andrew Jervise, rewritten and corrected by the Rev. James Gannock (Edinburgh, 1885), i. 21.

² The editor of the Dun Papers (*Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. iv.) gives the former date.

³ Buchanan speaks of him as "homo doctus, et perinde pius et humanus"—p. 312.

⁴ Our sole authority for this deed is the Instrument recording the assythment or manbote paid by Erskine to the father of the deceased.—*Misc. of Spalding Club*, iv. 27.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 30, 43. The dates of these journeys are 1537 and 1542.

⁶ *Works*, i. 59.

by Cardinal Beaton.¹ But his openness of mind was shown not only in matters of religion. On his return from his first sojourn abroad he brought with him a Frenchman, Pierre de Marsiliers, whom he settled in Montrose as a teacher of Greek, the first, it would seem, who taught that language in Scotland.² While he had thus the instincts of a scholar and a theologian, he proved that, when occasion needed, he had the energy and capacity of a man of action. In the wars of 1548-1549, which resulted in the expulsion of the English from the country, Erskine approved himself one of the best soldiers among the Scots, and won the special applause of the French historian who attended his countrymen in Scotland.³ As we know from her own hand, Mary of Lorraine set high store by the support of one whose character and talent made him one of the notable persons in the country.⁴ At a critical period in her government, we shall see she had special recourse to one who, in Knox's words, was "a man most gentill of nature, and most addict to please hir in all thingis not repugnant to God."⁵ Mary Stewart shared her mother's good opinion of the Laird of Dun; for "above all others, she said, she would gladly hear the Superintendant of Angus⁶ (for he was a mild and sweet natured man), with true honesty and

¹ *Works*, i. 132.

² Wodrow, *Collections upon the Lives of the Scottish Reformers*, i. 5. Wodrow makes Erskine return from his travels in 1534, but there is no hint of this earlier visit to the Continent in the Dun Papers.

³ Jean de Beaugué, *Histoire de la Guerre d'Ecosse pendant les Campagnes 1548 et 1549* (Maitland Club). Beaugué devotes several spirited pages to the account of a check inflicted by Erskine on the English at Montrose—Cf. pp. 65 *et seq.*

⁴ Letters from Mary of Lorraine to Erskine are given among the Dun Papers collected in the *Spalding Misc.*

⁵ *Works*, i. 318.

⁶ This office was subsequently conferred on Erskine.

uprightnesse, John Ariskin of Dun.”¹ As it happens, we have the means of forming our own opinion of Erskine’s powers as a preacher from three of his discourses that have come down to us.² Compared with other contemporary productions of the same kind, they are remarkable for their clearness and simplicity of style and the directness with which they go to the mark the preacher set before him. But more notable than even these qualities is the mild piety they breathe, and their comparative freedom from the rancorous spirit of the time. It will be seen, therefore, that alike by his accomplishments, his character, and his family position, Erskine of Dun was a tower of strength to the reforming party. The friendship and alliance of such a man were credentials that gave Knox the ear of the first men in the country.

At the House of Dun Knox remained for a month “dalye exercised in doctrin, whairunto resorted the principall men of that countrey.”³ From the first appearance of the new opinions Montrose and its neighbourhood had been in touch with them. In 1538 George Wishart, while a teacher in the town school, had been delated for heresy to John Hepburn, Bishop of Brechin,⁴ and in 1545 he had preached in the town in comparative security. In Montrose,⁵ therefore, the ground was in some measure prepared for Knox, and we have already seen enough of him to know that where his voice could be heard he never spoke in vain.

¹ *Works*, ii. 482.

² *Spalding Misc.* iv. 92 *et seq.*

³ *Works*, i. 249.

⁴ Petrie, *History of the Catholick Church*, century xvi., p. 182 (The Hague, 1662).

⁵ Knox does not state that he actually preached in Montrose at this time, but we are justified in inferring that he did.

On leaving Dun, Knox proceeded to the house of another Scottish laird who had thrown in his lot with the party of reform. Sir James Sandilands of Calder is not so well known to us as Erskine of Dun; but from certain appearances he made at critical times we must infer that he was a person of considerable consequence in the country. It was he who along with another Scottish laird was chosen to present the remonstrance to the Queen-Regent on her proposal to create a standing army,¹ and who in 1558 was deputed by the Protestant party to place before her their desires and complaints.² According to Knox he was a man "whose age and yearis deserved reverence, whose honestie and wirschip mycht have craved audience of ony magistrate on earth."³ His two sons, John and James,⁴ followed the religion of their father. John, the eldest, had been a leading supporter of Wishart, and was with him that last night in Ormiston House, when the soldiers of Beaton carried him off to his death. But the most distinguished of the family was the younger son James. While still a youth, he had been commended to the Grand Master of the Knights of Malta as a suitable person to be the head of that brotherhood in Scotland. After some years' residence in Malta, he was appointed to the office in 1543, which he was the last to hold in Scotland.⁵ From the frequent embassies in which he was afterwards

¹ Buchanan, p. 307.

² *Works*, i. 301.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Laing has pointed out that both M'Crie and Tytler have confounded the second son James, Preceptor of the Knights of St. John, with his father—Knox, *Works*, i. 301 *note*.

⁵ Crawford, *Officers of State*, p. 20. In 1563, after the fall of the Church of Rome, all the property of the Knights of St. John and the Templars were granted to him by Mary Queen of Scots with consent of the Three Estates. The charter making this grant is printed in the *Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. ii.

engaged, we may infer that his ability and knowledge of affairs made him one of the leading men of the time.

Though neither the Church nor the Government was at this time eager to make examples of heretics, it is evident that precautions were needed to ensure Knox's safety in his progress through the country. During his entire sojourn in Scotland at this time he passed from the protection of one influential person to another, who could not indeed have saved him from any determined action on the part of the authorities, but who at least secured him from any less formidable opposition. In the family of Sandilands he was with friends who had given proof of their goodwill towards him and his doctrine. It was in Calder House, near Midcalder, the chief seat of the family, that Knox was for a time their guest.¹ Here among others came Lord Erskine, afterwards Earl of Mar, Lord Lorn, afterwards Earl of Argyle, and Lord James Stewart, Prior of St. Andrews, and known to history as the Regent Moray. When such men lent him their countenance, Knox had assuredly good reason to conclude that his visit to Scotland had not been in vain. In the political and religious confusions that awaited the country, all these three nobles were among the leading actors—two of them subsequently becoming heads of the State.

Of the three, Lord Erskine was eventually the least acceptable to Knox; for though he joined the

¹ It is in this house that the famous Torphichen portrait of Knox hangs. On the back of it there is the following inscription:—"The Rev. John Knox. The first Sacrament of the Supper given in Scotland after the Reformation, was dispensed in this hall." This statement, written in a hand of last century, is not in keeping with Knox's own account. The great hall referred to is now the drawing-room—Small, *Castles and Mansions of the Lothians* (1883). As to the value of the Torphichen portrait of Knox, see Appendix G.

Protestant ranks he refused to sign the Book of Discipline. "The cheaf great man," he says, "that had professed Christ Jesus, and refused to subscribe the Book of Discipline, was the Lord Erskyn; and no wonder, for besydis that he has a verray Jesabell to his wyffe, yf the poore, the schooles, and the ministerie of the Kirk had their awin, his keching¹ wald lack two parttis and more, of that whiche he injustlie now possesses."² At this time Erskine was governor of Edinburgh Castle, a position that in some measure made him arbiter of the destinies of the kingdom; and when the sword was drawn, he showed in the execution of his trust that his religious convictions were not so strong as to induce him to play into the hands of either party. Lord Lorn was of rasher temper than Erskine, and from this moment seems never to have wavered in his support of the new opinions.³ Though he was not in the first rank of the men of his time, there was hardly a movement of any consequence with which his name was not more or less directly connected during the whole period of the revolution. But, as the future was to show, of these three nobles, the youngest, the Lord James Stewart, was marked for the greatest destinies. In the traditions of their countrymen he and Knox stand apart from their contemporaries by the greatness of the work they did in their respective spheres. Born in 1531, he was now only in his twenty-fourth year.⁴ He was the

¹ *I.e.* supplies for his kitchen.

² *Works*, ii. 128.

³ Yet for a time, for political reasons, he deserted the side of Knox.

⁴ The date usually assigned for his birth is 1533; but the year is fixed by a line in a poem written on the occasion of his death (January, 1570):—

Ane woundit man of aucht and threttie yeiris,

Satirical Poems of the Reformation (Scot. Text Soc.), part I. poem x. line 14.

illegitimate son of James V. by Margaret Erskine, sister of the Lord Erskine just mentioned, and, like most of the natural sons of the Scottish kings, was destined for the Church. In his fifth year he was made Prior of St. Andrews, and at a later date Prior of Macon in France. In 1548 he attended the child-queen on her voyage to France, and the same year, on his return to Scotland, gave the earliest proof of that prompt resolution which distinguished him through life. Having heard that a band of English had landed at St. Monans in Fife, he hastily gathered the men of St. Andrews, and gave battle to the invaders. His men gave way at the first onset; but their youthful leader, checking their flight, drove the enemy to their ships with great slaughter.¹ The next few years were to show that his unflinching courage, unwavering purpose, and breadth of judgment, were to make him the natural leader of the revolutionary party.

On leaving Calder House Knox returned to Edinburgh, and at the close of the year proceeded to Ayrshire, which even in greater degree than the county of Forfar had given itself to the new opinions. As Knox himself has told us, the Lollards of Kyle had bequeathed a tradition which had never died out in the districts where they had rooted themselves. In these districts George Wishart in 1545 had found a response to his teaching unexampled elsewhere. Now when, ten years later, Knox went over the same field, he was entertained by the same families, and encouraged by the same eagerness for the reformed religion. For the space of three months he preached throughout Ayrshire under the protection of the

¹ Buchanan, pp. 300, 301.

different lairds who received him, and occasionally, as he specially mentions, "ministrat the Lordis Table."¹ Leaving Ayrshire before Easter he passed some time at Finlayson,² in the parish of Kilmalcolm, with a nobleman who had long been known for his Protestant sympathies, Alexander, fifth Earl of Glencairn. As early as 1540 Glencairn had shown his attitude towards the clergy by a stinging satire against the Franciscans, which Knox has given a place in his History.³ On the death of James V. his zeal for English as opposed to French interests had specially commended him to Sir Ralph Sadler, who in 1543 wrote that there "be few such Scots in Scotland, both for his wisdom and learning, and well dedicate to the truth of Christ's word and doctrine."⁴ In his religious convictions Glencairn never wavered, and among the Scottish nobles he won the special applause of Knox for his steadfastness and sincerity. At Finlayson also Knox is careful to mention that "after doctrin he lyikwiese ministrat the Lordis Table, whair of besydis him self war parttakaris his Lady, two of his sonnys, and certane of his freindis."⁵

Returning to Edinburgh, Knox paid a second visit to Calder House by the way, and on this occasion he saw evident fruits of his previous labours. Many from Edinburgh and the surrounding country came to hear him, and insisted on partaking of the Communion after the Reformed order. As a pledge that they had finally broken with the Church of Rome, and

¹ *Works*, i. 250.

² The silver cups which Knox used in dispensing the Sacrament at Finlayson are still preserved.

³ Knox entitles the piece, "Ane Epistle direct fra the Holye Armitte of Allarit (Loretto near Musselburgh) to his Bretheren the Gray Freires." — *Works*, i. 72.

⁴ *Sadler's Papers*, i. 83.

⁵ *Works*, i. 250.

were not merely curious hearers of the new doctrine, this was the best reward that Knox could look for in his mission. Another visit to the House of Dun was likewise attended with more striking success than the first; for "teiching them in grettar libertie, the gentilmen required that he should ministrat lyikwiese unto thame the Table of the Lord Jesus, whairof war partakaris the moist parte of the gentilmen of the Mernse."¹ Nor was this mere passing enthusiasm on the part of these communicants. Through the darkest days of the Reformation in Scotland the gentlemen of the Mearns formed a sure phalanx, which on more than one occasion did effective service when need was the greatest.

It has already been explained how it was that Knox was left at such liberty to go and come, sowing heresy broadcast over the country. But there was a limit beyond which the clergy could not be restrained by the policy of their superiors. It was evident that things could not go on as they were doing, if the Church did the duty it owed to itself. During his stay at Dun Knox at last received a summons to give an account of himself in the Blackfriars' Church, Edinburgh, on the 15th of May. Confident in the support behind him, he determined to obey the summons, and about the day appointed he appeared in the capital attended by Erskine of Dun and "diverse otheris gentlemen."² "But," says Knox, "that dyet held nott; for whitther that the Bischoppis perceaved informalitie in thare awin proceidyngis, or yf thei

¹ *Works*, i. 250. Laing is probably right in his suggestion that M'Crie misconstrued the context of this passage. Knox's words hardly bear the construction that the gentlemen of the Mearns "entered into a solemn and mutual bond" at this time.

² *Works*, i. 251.

feared danger to ensew upoun thare extremitie, it was unknown unto us.”¹ With all the circumstances before us we have no difficulty in understanding how the bishops’ courage failed them at the last moment. The gentlemen who attended the culprit would quickly have reminded the judges with whom they had to deal had they laid a finger on their champion. Unsupported by the primate, Hamilton, and the Queen-Dowager, they could not make head against a demonstration which, if the higher powers had been of one mind, could never have taken place. As it was, the intended effacement of Knox was turned into a triumph. For ten days in succession, in the “great loodgeing” of the Bishop of Dunkeld, he preached to greater audiences than ever.²

At this time, also, another great noble, William Keith, fourth Earl Marischal, was induced by Glencairn to appear at one of his meetings. Like Glencairn, Keith had been one of the “assured Scots,” and according to Sadler, in his report of him to Henry VIII., he was “a goodly young gentleman well given to your Majesty.”³ Though not one of the great figures in the coming revolution, he took part in all its leading events, and duly signed the Book of Discipline.⁴ Afraid of compromising himself too deeply at this time, it was only under cover of night that he ventured to listen to the new doctrine. With Glencairn, however, he found Knox’s views so much to his mind, that they were desirous the Queen-Regent should hear them for herself. At their request, there-

¹ *Works*, i. 251.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Sadler’s Papers*, i. 99.

⁴ Knox (ii. 129) mentions him as one of the signatories. Through an oversight on the part of the secretary, Keith’s name does not appear in the list attached to the Book of Discipline.

fore, Knox wrote a letter in which he placed before her what he conceived to be her duty at the present crisis in religion. The letter, presented to her by Glencairn, she read with the feelings we should expect. Handing it a few days afterwards to James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow,¹ she exclaimed, "Please yow, my Lord, to reid a pasquill."²

Yet of all Knox's writings addressed to great persons, this letter to the Queen-Dowager is the most gracious and conciliatory. At times, indeed, his strain is almost courtly as in such a sentence as the following. "Superfluous and foolishe it shall appeare to many that I, a man of base estate and condition, dare enterprise to admonishe a Princesse so honorable, endewed with wisdom and graces singularly."³ Not even Queen Elizabeth, when he was most eager to conciliate her, did he address in tones of such unqualified humility. But however couched, the advice his letter conveyed could seem to Mary of Lorraine only the wild presumption of a dangerous fanatic, whom circumstances compelled her to leave at large. To effect such a change in the religion of the country as he proposed, would have been to undo the work of her life and defeat every scheme on which the house of Guise was bent. Yet a passage in Knox's letter proves how far circumstances forced her to conciliate the party he represented. The passage, it will be seen, has a singular interest, as showing what was the opinion of the nation at large both of himself and his doctrine at the time when the letter was written.

"I doubt not," he says, "but the rumors whiche came to youre Grace's eares of me have bene suche,

¹ Nephew of Cardinal Beaton.

² *Works*, i. 252.

³ *Ibid.* iv. 78.

that if all reportes were trew, I were unworthy to lyve on the earth. And wonder it is, that the voyces of the multitude shoulde not so have enflamed your Grace's harte with just hatered of such a one as I am accused to be, that all accesse to pitie should have bene shut up. I am traduced as an heretyke, accused as a fals teacher and seducer of the people, besides other opprobries, which, affirmed by men of worldly honor and estymation, may easely kyndle the wrath of magistrates when innocency is not knowen. But blessed be God, the Father of oure Lorde Jesus Christe, who by the dewe of hys heavenly grace, hath so quenched the fyre of displeasure in youre Grace's harte (whiche of late dayes I have understood) Sathan is frustrate of his enterpryse and purpose, which is to my harte no small comforte; not so muche (God is witnes) for any benefit that I can receave in this miserable lyfe by protection of any earthly creature (for the cuppe which it behoveth me to drynke is appointed by the wysdome of Him whose counsailes are not changeable), as that I am for that benefit, which, I am assured, your Grace shall receyve, if that ye continewe in lyke moderation and clemency towards others that most unjustly are and shalbe accused, as that your Grace hath begonne towards me and my moste desperate matter."¹

The Regent's flout on receiving his well-meant letter did not immediately come to Knox's ears. At least, it was not till 1558 that a new edition of his letter was printed at Geneva with running comments suggested by her remark, and by her subsequent attitude towards the Protestants. If in the original edition we have Knox in his mildest, in its later form, we

¹ *Works*, iv. 77.

have him in his most truculent mood. Sensible of the good faith and serious purpose with which he had written the letter, he was stung to the quick by the Regent's gibe. One passage will indicate the tone of the letter in its new form. "The idolatrie which is committed [in Scotland] is more evident then that it can be denyed; the avarice and crueltie, aswell of yourselfe as of suche as be in authoritie, may be knowen by the factes: for fame carieth the voices of the poore, oppressed by intolerable taxes, not onlie to us here in a strange countrie, but, I am assured, to the eares of the God of hostes. The conspiracie and conjuration of your false prophetes is knowen to the world, and yet is none founde so faithfull to God, nor mercifull to your Grace, that freelie will and dare admonish you to repent before that God rise hymselfe in judgement."¹

Another passage in the new edition of the letter has a biographical interest which will be at once recognised. It has been said that in many traits of his character and genius Knox reminds us of Carlyle; and in the following we can hardly avoid thinking of the later preacher. "When reasoninge was before your Grace what man it was that preached in Aire,² and divers men were of divers opynion, some affirming that it was an Englishman, and some supposing the contrarie, a Prelat, not of the least pride, said, 'Nay, no Englishman, but it is Knox that knave.' It was my Lordes pleasure so to baptise a poore man; the reason wherof, if it shuld be required, his rochet and miter must stand for authoritie. What further

¹ *Works*, iv. 450.

² The reference must be to Knox's visit to Ayrshire, which has been mentioned above.

libertie he used in defining thinges like uncertain to him, to witt, of my learning and doctrine, at this present I omitt; lamenting more that such pestilent tonges have libertie to speak in the presence of Princes, then that I am sorie for any hurt that their venom can do to me in bodie or fame. For what hath my life and conversation bene, since it hath pleased God to call me frome the puddle of Papistrie, let my verie enemies speak; and what learning I have, they may prove when they please.”¹

Knox thus seemed to be daily gaining ground in Scotland, when letters came to him from Geneva “commanding him in Goddis name” to return to that city.² He never seems to have hesitated to obey the summons. Possibly he may have had good reason to believe that an unexpected turn of affairs might send him the way of Wishart and Hamilton. Before going he preached to most of the congregations that had already listened to him, and impressed on them the need of mutual edification till a day should come of “grettar libertie.” Among the last places he visited was Castle Campbell, near Dollar, one of the seats of the Earl of Argyle, father of the Lord Lorn already mentioned. As he died in 1558, Argyle did not see the changes in religion he desired; but before his death he gave one testimony to his faith which Knox has triumphantly commemorated. Having taken under his protection a reforming preacher named John Douglas, he resolutely refused to part with him in spite of the express solicitation of Archbishop Hamilton.³

In the month of July Knox at last left the country. He had no sooner gone than the clergy showed with

¹ *Works*, iv. 439.

² *Ibid.* i. 253.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 276 *et seq.*

what feelings they regarded him. On the old charge he was again summoned to Edinburgh after he was safe beyond the sea; and as a suggestion of the fate that had been meant for him, he was burnt in effigy at the public cross of the city.¹ Knox's reply to this outrage was his "Appellation to the Nobility and Estates of Scotland," published at Geneva in 1558, and which will call for notice in its right place.

The results of Knox's labours during this year in Scotland will best appear from the following chapter. Meanwhile, it is to be noted that we have now before us the leading personages who were mainly instrumental in effecting the great breach which Scotland was about to make with its past. What, we naturally ask, were the predominant motives that led these men to seek Knox, and to prefer his gospel to that of the accredited teachers of the established religion? It may seem a sufficient reply that by its own confession that religion had no longer a body of teachers capable of influencing educated men.² It is a common notion, indeed, that the Scottish nobles and gentlemen of the sixteenth century were, in point of accomplishments, at the level of Archibald Bell-the-Cat, who thanked heaven that only one of his sons could sign his name. How far this may be true of the preceding century it is difficult to say, though probably even of that century it needs large qualification. For the sixteenth, however, we have abundant material to prove that many of the Scottish nobles and gentry could hold their own with the best of the same class in other countries. The barons and lairds named above sufficiently prove this statement. Erskine of Dun, Sir James Sandilands the younger, William Mait-

¹ *Works*, i. 254.

² See above, pp. 288, 289.

land, Kirkcaldy of Grange, among the lairds ; Glencairn, Cassilis, the Lord James, among the nobles, would have been distinguished figures in any court in Europe, and they were not isolated examples of their class.¹ The fact cannot be gainsaid that the clergy as a body had fallen below the level of the educated laity ; and that in its essence the Reformation was an intellectual and ethical movement necessitated by the developing intelligence of the best minds in the country. In the new point of view presented by teachers like Knox, the barons and gentlemen who drank in his words found a quickening impulse, which renewed their interest in the mysteries on which Christianity is based. To impugn the genuine interest of these men in religion, because their conduct did not always square with the morality of the Gospel, is in truth to impugn the nature of religion itself. That religious enthusiasm may coexist with much self-seeking and little charity does not at this time of day require to be proved. Yet we may believe that but for that enthusiasm these baser qualities might have played a larger part in these men's lives ; and that their religion in some degree was both a restraining and an ennobling influence in their dealings with their fellow-men.

But at the moment at which we have arrived we have no reason to suppose that motives of self-interest could have largely influenced these men in the choice they made. As we have seen, the Queen-Regent was now supreme in the country, and her ascendancy meant French religion and French counsels. She

¹ It may be said generally of the Scottish barons and gentry of the time of the Reformation that whenever we have any detailed account of their lives we find that they had received a liberal education. On this important point cf. Wodrow, *Collections upon the Lives of the Scottish Reformers*, i. 4-5.

had been driven by circumstances to show a certain degree of favour for the Protestant sectaries; but they well knew that to expect her to pull down the old religion and set up the new was to expect a breach of a law of nature. But even if she had wished to change the religion of the country, as things now stood the work would have been beyond her power. In spite of enemies without and enemies within, the Catholic Church, though only five years from its ruin, still possessed overwhelming influence in the country. Knox himself is our unimpeachable witness to this fact. In the letter to the Queen-Dowager, in which he called upon her to reform the existing Church root and branch, it was not in the interest of his appeal to magnify the difficulties of the task. Yet he cannot ignore the fact that the difficulties were immense. "I am not ignorant," he says in one place, "how dangerous a thing it appeareth to the natural man, to innovate anything in matters of religion. And, partlie, I consider that your Grace's power is not so fre as a publik reformation perchance would requyre."¹ "Your Grace," he also says, "can not hastely abolishe all superstition, neither yet remove from offices unprofitable pastors, which only fede themselves, the which to publique reformation are requisite and necessary."² In his concluding sentences he is even more emphatic as to the dead weight she would have to overcome, in the event of her following his counsel. "I confesse that I desyre your Grace to enter into a straunge and grevous battel; nevertheless, yet assured I am by the promise of Him by whome Kinges do raygne, that if, with reverence and feare, ye obey his preceptes, as did Josias the admonitions of the Prophetes, that

¹ *Works*, iv. 82.

² *Ibid.* p. 83.

then with double benediction shall your battell be rewarded.”¹ Indirectly, though contrary to her deepest intention, Mary of Lorraine was a main cause of the overthrow of the Catholic Church in Scotland; but at the moment when Knox thus addressed her, this speedy end of her schemes could not have been foreseen by the most far-sighted of his associates. A few years later the assistance of England could be invoked in aid of the Protestant minority; but at this time England was under the most enthusiastically Catholic government in Europe. Mary Tudor, now married to Philip of Spain, was little likely to assist the Protestants of Scotland in dethroning the Pope, even though by so doing she might strike a blow against France. We may fairly conclude, therefore, that in lending their ears to Knox these Scottish lairds and barons only obeyed the promptings of their minds and consciences. They found in his teaching something deeper and truer than in the Church with which they had broken. At a later date the spoils of that Church may have whetted their zeal; but to say that in the first instance they embraced the new religion because they saw these spoils ahead is a statement often mechanically repeated, but which has no ground in the facts of history. At the moment when they thus threw in their lot with Knox they identified themselves with a cause which no prudent man, with an eye only to his worldly good, would have approved. To have remained faithful sons of the Church, to have made themselves indispensable to the Queen-Regent in her scheme for making Scotland a province of France, —such would have been the course that worldly wisdom would have prescribed to purely self-seeking men.

¹ *Works*, iv. 84.

CHAPTER III

EVENTS IN SCOTLAND FROM 1556-1559

KNOX left Scotland in July 1556, and did not return till May 1559. In that interval many things happened in politics and religion which must be fully told before the subsequent course of affairs can be understood. It will be seen that even had Knox remained the rest of his days in Geneva, the revolution in Church and State must have come as the result of many combined forces moving to the same end. When the battle was fairly joined Knox stood forth as the doughtiest champion on his own side, and made his character and genius felt in all the issues of the strife. Yet it may be safely said that had Scotland never seen him again, the eventual direction both of politics and religion could not have been widely different from what it has actually been.

Every year of their alliance with France showed the Scottish people how dearly that alliance had been bought. The policy of the Queen-Regent and the insolence of the French soldiery had already opened the eyes of many to the fact that Scotland was in a fair way to become an appanage of the house of Guise. In 1557 they received another proof that there were two sides to the bargain that had been struck at Haddington when France was accepted as

an ally against England. In the previous year Henry II., in concert with the bellicose Pope Paul IV., had engaged in a war with Philip of Spain. As the husband of Mary Tudor Philip had the support of England. To act as a check on England, therefore, Scotland must join the game. Reminding the Scottish nobles of their covenant to stand by each other against all foes,¹ Henry II. called upon them to strengthen his hands by an invasion of English territory. At this very moment, as it happened, commissioners from the two countries were met at Carlisle to settle misunderstandings relating to the Borders.² The request of the French king was thus as inopportune as it could well have been, and the Scottish nobles fully realised the folly they were asked to commit. But to Mary of Lorraine Scotland was a secondary consideration when the interests of France and her own family were involved. Assembling the Scottish lords at Newbattle, she laid the message of the French king before them, but they coldly replied that a war with England might be in the interests of France, but was certainly not in the interests of Scotland. The Regent, however, was not to be thwarted in her purpose. By her own order, and in the teeth of the last treaty with England,³ a fortress was built at Eyemouth in face of the English town of Berwick. The result was what she desired; skirmishing began between the two countries, and the Scottish lords were, in spite of themselves, forced to bring men into the field to defend the frontier. The Regent seemed to have attained her end, but she was now to learn what previous rulers of Scotland had learned when they went too far in their eagerness

¹ This was implied in the treaty of Haddington.

² Leslie, p. 259.

³ Keith, i. 445, 448.

to serve the interests of France. When she urged the Scottish leaders, encamped at Maxwellcleuch near Kelso, to cross the frontier, they refused to move a step. They were willing, they said, to remain in arms in self-defence, but to invade England was to run a risk which, as lovers of their country, it was their duty to avoid. The Regent finding them immovable disbanded the army, though she still did what she could by maintaining a petty war on the frontier.¹ Thus a second time she had come into direct conflict with the will of the country, but the opportunity had not yet arrived when the Scottish lords saw their way to break off an alliance which was already leading to such doubtful consequences.

Meanwhile things went ill with Henry II. in his struggle with Spain. The victory of St. Quentin (10th of August) for the moment placed France at the mercy of Philip, and during the last months of 1557 the French king and his advisers were driven to every shift to hold their own against a triumphant enemy. Since England seemed now indissolubly united to Spain,² it was more necessary than ever that Scotland should make one with France. But late events had proved that Scotland was not so amenable to French counsels as could have been wished. It was full time, therefore, to insist on the fulfilment of the main point in the compact made at Haddington—the marriage of the Dauphin with the young Queen of Scots. Once the marriage was completed, bolder measures might be taken to make Scotland of real service to the interests of France.

¹ These doings of the Regent are most fully recorded by Leslie ; but they are also referred to by all the other early historians.

² A large body of troops had been sent by England to France to strengthen the arms of Philip.—Martin, *Hist. de France*, viii. 452.

On the 30th October 1557 Henry addressed a letter to the Scottish Estates requesting commissioners to be sent to France to make arrangements for the union that had been approved by both countries.¹ The Estates, which met in December, appointed eight of their number to proceed to France as representatives of the interests of Scotland.² Of the eight it is worth noting that two, Lord James Stewart and Erskine of Dun, were decided supporters of the new religion. Well aware of the risk their country ran in dealing with their powerful ally, the Scottish Estates took every precaution to guard against the possibility of French domination. The Act passed by the Parliament of Haddington was to be ratified; the ancient laws, liberties, and privileges of Scotland were to be duly observed by the two princes and their heirs; and in the event of the Queen's dying childless the Duke of Châtellherault was to come into the succession.³ On the 19th of April 1558, the treaty of marriage was duly signed by the contracting parties, the instructions of the Scottish Estates to their commissioners being fully recognised in the compact. Fifteen days earlier, however (4th April), Henry II. and his counsellors the Guises showed what was their real mind as to the claims of Scotland. In three papers secretly signed at their instance by the young Queen, Scotland was made over as a free gift to the French king in the event of her dying without heirs. As difficulties might arise in carrying out this arrangement, Henry was to be left

¹ Henry's letter is given in Keith, i. 348, 349.

² *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland.*

³ At the meeting of the Estates which sent the commissioners to France, the duke lodged a formal protest against any possible arrangement of the marriage treaty that might prejudice his own claim to the succession. As we shall see, the duke was a constant cause of anxiety to the French king and the Guises.

master of Scotland till the outlay for Mary's maintenance and education was fully met. The third paper contained the startling statement that all compacts relating to the inheritance of her kingdom, publicly signed either before or after her marriage, should be null and void, and that this secret treaty should alone be considered the expression of her will.¹ On the 24th April the marriage was solemnised in the Church of Notre Dame, Paris; and on the 28th the commissioners in the name of the Estates took the oath of allegiance to their king and queen. But before the departure of the commissioners a demand was made of them which raised their worst suspicions. They were asked to use their best endeavours to have the Scottish crown sent to France to be placed on the head of the Dauphin.² They replied that such an undertaking did not come within the scope of their instructions, and that the demand might even create a misunderstanding between the Queen and her subjects. On the way home four of the commissioners died before they were out of France, and the suspicion naturally arose that their death fitted too well into the schemes of the house of Guise.³

The next meeting of the Scottish Estates took place on the 29th November 1558. From the report of the proceedings it would appear that the French marriage almost exclusively occupied them. Four of the commissioners, who had returned safe, placed before them

¹ Copies of these are in the Advocates' Library. They are published in Labanoff's *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, i. 50 et seq.

² *Manifeste adressé par les Lords de la congrégation aux princes de la Chrétienté*.—Teulet, i. 423.

³ Mezeray, who knew the sixteenth century so well, inclines to the opinion that the Guises actually did poison the four commissioners. Whether they did so or not, the death of these Scotsmen greatly embittered the feeling between the two countries.

the request of the young Queen that the crown should be sent to her husband "to the entent that the maist Cristin King and King dolphine hir husband may understand with what zeles and affectioun hir subjectis ar myndet to observe and recognosce hir said spous."¹ As we know, many of the Scottish nobles had long been in the pay of France.² Divided among themselves, also, they could make no head against the French influence, backed as it was by a body of soldiery in possession of many of the strong places in the country. It was decreed by Parliament, therefore, that the honours should be sent to France in accordance with the Queen's request, and that the Earl of Argyle³ and the Lord James should be appointed to convey them. The selection of these two persons was significant, as both were well known to be opposed to French influence and to be in sympathy with heresy. But a turning-point in the affairs of Scotland, as of Europe, was now at hand, which was to bring other occupation for these two lords, and the crown was never sent.

On the 17th of November Mary of England had died and been succeeded by her sister Elizabeth. Before many days it was seen that the new Queen's policy would be very different from that of her predecessor, and that a fresh start would have to be made by the great powers of Christendom. When the news reached Scotland that England was once more Protestant, the situation was immediately changed in all that bore on the deepest interests of the country. Once more, as at the death of James V., the question

¹ *Acts of the Parl. of Scot.* ii. 506.

² Teulet, i. 416. Similarly many of the English nobles enjoyed life pensions from Philip of Spain.—Froude, vi. 180 *note* (People's Edit.).

³ This was the Lord Lorn mentioned above, p. 304. His father, the Earl of Argyle, had just died.

arose whether England or France was to be the ally of Scotland. Backed by the jealousy and hatred of French ascendancy, the new religion could now hold its own with the old, and a religious not less than a political revolution would be involved in an alliance with England. But to understand how the two forces converged some account must be given of the growth of Protestantism in Scotland after the departure of Knox in July 1556.¹

Before he left the country Knox wrote "A Letter of Wholesome Counsel," in which he suggested to his fellow-believers how best they would serve the interests of their common faith till better days should come. The right of public assembly was as yet denied them. "Within your own houses," he told them, "I say in some cases ye are bishoppes and kynges; your wyfe, chyl dren, servauntes, and familye are youre bishopryke and charge; of you it shalbe requyred howe carefull ye and dylygentlye ye have alwayes instructed theym in Goddes true knowlege, how that ye have studied in them to plant vertue and repress vice. And therefore, I say, ye must make them partakers in readyng, exhorting, and in makyng common prayers, which I would in every house wer used once a day at least."² Within a year of his leaving the country a letter was addressed to him at Geneva by the Protestant Lords, which shows how things had gone during the interval, and shows also what store they set by the services he could render them. As this letter is at once a part of

¹ Knox is virtually our only authority for the religious history of this period. Keith, Calderwood, and Spottiswoode draw their materials almost solely from him. Knox's disregard of chronological sequence in this part of his History is thus specially inconvenient. However, in many cases we possess indications which enable us to check him.

² *Works*, iv. 137. Cf. *Works*, ii. 151.

Knox's biography and of the history of Protestantism in Scotland, it is here given in full.

"Deirlie beloved in the Lord," it runs, "the Faithfull that ar of your acquaintance in thir partes (thankis be unto God) ar stedfast in the beleve whareinto ye left thame, and hes ane godly thrist and desyre, day by day, of your presence agane; quhilk, gif the Spreat of God will sua move and permitt tyme unto yow, we will hartly desyre yow, in the name of the Lord, that ye will returne agane in thir partes, whare ye shall fynd all faithfull that ye left behynd yow, not only glaid to hear your doctrin, but wilbe reddy to jeopard lyffis and goodis in the forward setting of the glorie of God, as he will permitt tyme. And albeit the Magistraittis in this countrey be as yitt but in the strait ye left thame, yitt at the maiking heirof, we have na experience of any mair crueltie to be used nor was befoir; but rather we have beleve that God will augment his flock, becaus we see daly the Freiris, ennemyes to Christis Evangell, in less estimatioun, baith with the Quenis Grace and the rest of the Nobilitie of our realme. This in few wordis is the mynd of the faithfull being present, and otheris absent. The rest of our myndis this faithfull berare will schaw you at lenth. Now, fair ye weill in the Lord."¹

It has already been told how Knox on receiving this appeal went to Dieppe with the intention of proceeding to Scotland, and how for various reasons he did not see fit to continue his journey at that time. Though he did not appear in his own person, however, he wrote a letter to the Protestant Lords, which, accord-

¹ *Works*, i. 267. This letter is dated Stirling, 10th March 1557, and is signed by Glencairn, Lorn, Erskine, and the Lord James. Keith (i. 153) supposes Erskine to be Erskine of Dun, because Lord Erskine had not joined the Protestants. But see above, p. 303.

ing to his own account, induced them to take a step of the first importance in the struggle between the two religions. Knox probably exaggerates the effect of his counsels, since prudent men were not likely to take a step of such importance without due heed to the conditions of the time. But if strong words could drive them to decided action, these were not wanting. "For your subjectis," he tells them, "yea, your brethrein are oppressed, thare bodyis and saules haldin in bondage: and God speaketh to your consciences (onles ye be dead with the blynd world), that yow awght to hasard your awin lyves (be it against Kingis or Empriouris) for thare deliverance; for only for that caus ar ye called Princes of the people; and ye receave of your brethrein honour, tribute, and homage at Goddis commandiment; not be reasson of your berth and progenye (as the most parte of men falslie do suppose), but by ressoun of your office and dewtie, which is to vindicat and deliver your subjectes and brethrein from all violence and oppressioun to the uttermost of your power."¹ Mary of Lorraine had excellent reason to be thankful that one capable of giving such advice to her subjects was as far off as Geneva.

There were, indeed, many reasons to induce the Protestant Lords to think that the time had now come to show a bolder front, and that Knox's advice might be the wisest in the circumstances. By the date when Knox's letter was written (27th October 1557) the Queen-Regent's power had in some measure been shaken by her quarrel with the nobility regarding the invasion of England. The Duke of Châtellherault grew less and less disposed to support a Government which, if it attained the end at which it was aiming,

¹ *Works*, i. 272.

would for ever cut off himself and his heirs from the succession.¹ But with the Duke was allied his brother the Primate, who could always count on a large following of the clergy. The number of the Protestants, also, was growing every day, and the Regent could not yet afford to dispense with their support in the attainment of her great object—the marriage of her daughter to the Dauphin. Influenced by these circumstances, it may be, not less than by the adjurations of Knox, the Lords on the 3rd December 1557 drew up the first manifesto of Protestantism in Scotland. This was the first of those religious “bonds,” or “covenants,” which have so memorable a history in the religious development of the country. Thenceforward the Protestants had a definite name, creed, and policy, which in subscribing this document they bound themselves to impose upon the nation.

“We,” this remarkable document ran, “perceaving how Sathan in his memberis, the Antichristis of our tyme, cruelly doeth rage, seaking to dounethring and to destroy the Evangell of Christ and his Congregatioun, aught, according to our bonden dewitie, to stryve in our Maisteris caus, evin unto the death, being certane of the victorie in him. The quhilke our dewitie being weall considered, we do promesse befor the Majestie of God, and his congregatioun, that we (be his grace) shall with all diligence continually apply our hole power, substance, and our verray lyves, to manteane, sett fordward, and establish the most blessed word of God and his Congregatioun; and shall laubour at our possibilitie to have faythfull

¹ To counteract the influence of the Duke, the French at a later date were forced to bring forward the Earl of Lennox, the father of Darnley, as a rival claimant to the succession.—Forbes, *State Papers*, i. 189; Haynes, *State Papers*, i. p. 219.

Ministeris purely and trewlie to minister Christis Evangel and Sacramentes to his people. We shall man-teane thame, nuriss thame, and defend thame, the hail congregatioun of Christ, and everie membour thair of, at our hail poweris and waring¹ of our lyves against Sathan, and all wicked power that does intend tyranny or truble against the foirsaid congregatioun. Onto the quhilk holy woord and congregatioun we do joyne us, and also dois forsaike and renunce the congregatioun of Sathan with all the superstitious abominatioun and idolatrie thareof: and, moreover, shall declare our selfis manifestlie ennemies thairto, be this our faithfull promesse befor God, testifeid to his congregatioun, be our subscriptionis at thir presentis.”²

Immediately after the signing of this bond, the Lords of the Congregation, as they now termed themselves, drew up two resolutions, which show them in a milder mood and not indisposed to make temporary compromises with the enemy.³ The first of these, indeed, implies a terrible indictment against the existing Church, though, as we have seen, its justice was recognised by that Church itself. The “Common Prayers”⁴ were to be read on Sundays and Saints’

¹ Spending.

² The signatories are the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, Morton, Lord Lorn, and Erskine of Dun.—*Works*, i. 273, 274. ³ *Ibid.* i. 275, 276.

⁴ The “Commoun Prayeris” here specified may have been the Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. In 1559, at least, it seems that King Edward’s book was used in the Reformed Church. Writing to Sir Henry Percy (1st July 1559) Kirkcaldy of Grange states that “the Booke sett fourthe by godlye Kyng Edward is red in the same churches” (Knox, *Works*, vi. 34). Sir William Cecil, writing to Throgmorton eight days later, mentions the same fact (Forbes, *State Papers*, i. 155); but in all probability he speaks merely on the authority of Kirkcaldy’s letter, which would, of course, be forwarded to him. In view of the unorganised state of the Scottish Protestants before 1560, more definite information than the passing remark of Kirkcaldy is required to show that the book was deliberately approved and systematically used before that year.

Days by the curates if they were capable, and if not, by any of the parishioners who were. From this resolution it might seem that those who drew it up were in a position to dictate to the country. The second resolution, however, shows us that they were as yet very far from being masters of the situation. "It is thought necessare," it went, "that doctrin, preacheing, and interpretatioun of Scriptures be had and used privatlie in quyet houssis without great conventionis of the people tharto, whill afterward that God move the Prince to grant publick preacheing be faithfule and trew ministeris."

In accordance with the policy on which they had determined, the Protestant Lords in the opening of the following year presented a petition to the Regent. Sir James Sandilands, the host of Knox at Calder House, was chosen to present it as a person by his age and character least likely to give offence.¹ Compared with the demands they made at the close of the same year, their petition was moderate, and evidently meant as a mere temporary compromise. They claimed the right of public and private prayer in the common tongue, of explaining and expounding the Scriptures, and of communion in both kinds. But as yet they did not call for the overthrow of the existing ecclesiastical system. "We most humblie requyre," they said, "that the wicked, sklanderous, and detestable lyiff of Prelates and of the state ecclesiasticall, may be so reformed that the people by thame have nott occasioun (as of many dayis thei have had) to contempne thare ministerie and the preaching wharof thei shuld be messingeris."²

¹ *Works*, i. 301.

² *Ibid.* p. 305. I have followed Knox in placing this petition at the beginning of the year, before the burning of Walter Mill.

As we know, a reform such as would have met the approval of Knox and those who thought with him would have meant such a transformation in the very being of the existing Church as would have made Geneva and not Rome its true exemplar.

Throughout this year one incident after another proved that the struggle could not be delayed, which should settle the future course of the country in policy and religion. The attitude of the Protestant nobles to the clergy receives curious illustration in a correspondence between the Earl of Argyle and the primate, Hamilton. While resident in Edinburgh, Argyle openly entertained the preacher John Douglas, whose ministrations he preferred to those of the established clergy. The Archbishop, scandalised at this defiance of ecclesiastical authority, wrote to the Earl requesting him to put away his preacher, and to return to the ways of his fathers and the true Church. In firmness, courtesy, and dignity, the Archbishop's communication left nothing to be desired; but the Earl had considered his steps in identifying himself with Douglas, and with the utmost decision, though in words as well chosen as Hamilton's own, refused to act on his counsel. As a specimen of the correspondence of two great personages in the Scotland of the sixteenth century, divided by a great gulf on all the questions on which men feel most deeply, these communications between the Earl and the Archbishop are of singular interest, suggesting as they do a standard of social intercourse which the external history of the time would hardly lead us to expect.

This correspondence took place at the end of March. To the following month belongs a tragedy which proved that, had they only possessed the power,

the clergy were still disposed to follow the traditional methods of suppressing heresy. Walter Mill, "a man of decrepit age," who had formerly been a priest, was seized at Dysart in Fife on a charge of teaching false doctrine. Brought to St. Andrews, he was tried in the presence of the primate, four bishops, four abbots, and several doctors of theology. Mill had no such powerful patron behind him as the Earl of Argyle, and his death was a foregone conclusion. But the circumstances which attended his execution proved that the popular sympathy was no longer with the Church in its zeal against heretics. So strongly, it is said, were the sympathies of the town on the side of the victim, that neither a cord to bind him at the stake nor a tar barrel to burn him was to be had for the buying. On the very spot where the execution took place a cairn of stones was immediately raised in honour of the martyr and in defiance of his judges. When in the metropolitan city itself men showed so unmistakably how their sympathies went, it was clear that a change was coming over the mind of the people as to the religion that had served their fathers.¹

Meanwhile, the preachers of the Congregation grew bolder every day. Harlaw and Douglas, of whom we have already heard, both taught publicly in Leith and Edinburgh; Paul Methven in Dundee, and others in Angus and the Mearns.² Having now attained the triumph of her family in the marriage of her daughter and the Dauphin, the Regent had less need to conciliate the Protestant party. At the instance of the clergy the preachers were summoned to Edinburgh on the

¹ The death of Mill is minutely described by Foxe. See also Knox, *Works*, i. 308.

² *Works*, i. 257.

19th of July.¹ It proves the consciousness of their strength that the preachers responded to the summons. According to the common Scottish custom they came attended by a body of sympathisers, who should stand by them if the necessity should arise. So great was their following that it became the concern of the authorities to see them out of the city with all speed. In a public proclamation they were commanded to proceed to the Borders,² and to remain there for the space of fifteen days. As it happened, on the very day they were ordered to withdraw, a company from the West, who had been serving on the Border, arrived in Edinburgh. Understanding how the preachers had been used, they took advantage of their numbers and made their way into the chamber where the Regent and the bishops happened to be assembled. The scene that followed deserves to be given in Knox's own words. "The gentilmen begane to complaine upoun thare strange intertenement, considdering that hir Grace had found into thame so faithfull obedience in all thingis lauchful. Whill that the Quein begane to craft, a zelous and a bold man, James Chalmeris of Gaitgyrth, said, 'Madame, we know that this is the malice and devise of thei Jefwellis,³ and of that Bastard (meanyng the Bischope of Sanctandrois), that standis by yow: we avow to God we shall maik ane day of it. Thei oppresse us and our tennantis for feading of thare idill bellyes; thei truble our preacheris, and wold murther thame and us: shall we suffer this any longare? Na, Madame: It shall nott be.' And tharewith every man putt on his steill bonet. Thare

¹ Calderwood, i. 344.

² A petty war on the Borders was going on at this time.

³ Jailbird or knave.

was hard nothing of the Quenis parte but ‘My joyes, my hartes, what ailes yow? Me¹ meanes no evill to yow nor to your preachearis. The Bischoppes shall do yow no wrong. Ye ar all my loving subjectis. Me knew nathing of this proclamatioun. The day of your preachearis shalbe discharged, and we will hear the controversie that is betuix the Bischoppes and yow. Thei shall do yow no wrong. ‘My Lordis,’ said she to the Bischoppes, ‘I forbid yow eyther to truble thame or thare preachearis.’ And unto the gentilmen who was wonderouslye commoved, she turned again, and said, ‘O my heartis, should ye nott love the Lord with all your harte, with all your mynd, and should ye nott luif your nychtbouris as yourselffis?’ With these and the lyik fair wordis she kept the Bischoppes from buffatis at that tyme.”²

Another scene enacted a month later in the streets of Edinburgh shows the unsettlement of the popular mind on the questions of religion. On the 1st of September was the feast day of St. Giles, the patron saint of Edinburgh. With some lack of discretion the clergy of the city determined to celebrate the day with the usual procession and pomp. They had already had sufficient warning that the saint no longer commanded the unqualified reverence of the people. A year before his image had been secretly conveyed from the church and deposited in the Nor’ Loch. Archbishop Hamilton had enjoined the image to be replaced,³ but the city did not readily respond, and on the present occasion another image had to be borrowed from the Grey Friars. Knox’s account of

¹ In reporting the conversation of Mary of Lorraine Knox always represents her as speaking broken English or Scots.

² *Works*, i. 257, 258.

³ Treasurer’s Records of Edinburgh, 1557, 1558.

the proceedings, which he had evidently received from several eye-witnesses, is one of the best known passages in his History, and is so characteristic that it can hardly be omitted in his biography.

“A marmouset¹ idole,” he writes, “was borrowed fra the Gray Freiris (a silver peise of James Carmichaell² was laid in pledge): It was fast fixed with irne nailles upon a barrow, called thare fertour. Thare assembled Preastis, Frearis, Chanonis, and rottin Papistes, with tabornes and trumpettis, banerris and bage-pypes, and who was thare to led the ring, but the Quein Regent hir self,³ with all hir schavelingis, for honour of that feast. West about goes it, and cumis down the Hie Streat, and doun to the Canno Croce.⁴ The Quein Regent dyned that day in Sandie Carpetyne’s housse, betuix the Bowes,⁵ and so when the idole returned back agane, sche left it, and past in to hir dennar. The heartes of the brethrein war wonderouslie inflammed, and seing such abominatioun so manifestlie manteaned, war decreed to be revenged. Thei war devided in severall cumpanyes, wharof not one knew of ane other. Thare war some temperisaris that day (amonges whome David Forress, called the Generall, was one), who, fearing the chance to be dune as it fell, lauboured to stay the brethrein. Butt that could not be; for immediatelie after the

¹ A little monkey.

² He was at this time Dean of Guild.

³ Keith (i. 483, 484), on the strength of an extract from the Register of the Town Council of Edinburgh, checks this statement of Knox, and also refers the riot to 1556. Other entries in the Town Records prove that Knox is likely to be right. Buchanan assigns the riot to the same year as Knox.

⁴ Probably, says Laing, the Girth Cross, at the foot of the Canon-gate, near Holyrood.

⁵ That is, between the West-Bow and the Nether-Bow, the two principal gates of the old town of Edinburgh.

Quein was entered in the lodgeing, some of those that war of the interprise drew ney to the idole, as willing to helpe to bear him, and getting the fertour upon thare schulderis, begane to schudder, thinking that thairby the idole should have fallin. But that was provided and prevented by the irne nailles, as we have said; and so begane one to cry 'Doun with the idole; doun with it'; and so without delay it was pulled doun. Some brag maid the Preastis patrons at the first; but when thei saw the febilness of thare god (for one took him by the heillis, and dadding his head to the calsay, left Dagon without head or handis, and said, 'Fye upon thee, thow young Sanct Geile, thy father wold haif taryed four such:') this considdered (we say), the Preastis and Freiris fled faster then thei did at Pynckey Clewcht.¹ Thare mycht have bein sein so suddane a fray as seildome hes bein sein amonges that sorte of men within this realme; for doun goes the croses, of goes the surpleise, round cappis cornar with the crounes. The Gray Freiris gapped, the Blak Frearis blew, the Preastis panted and fled, and happy was he that first gate the house; for such ane suddan fray came never amonges the generatioun of Antichrist within this realme befoir. By chance lay upoun a stare a meary Englissman, and seing the discomfiture to be without blood, thought he wold add some mearynes to the mater, and so he cryed ower a stayr, and said, 'Fy upon you, hoorsones, why have ye brocken ordour! Doun the streat ye passed in array and with great myrth. Why flie ye, vilanes, now without ordour? Turne and stryke everie one a strok for the honour of his god. Fy, cowardis, fy, ye

¹ The battle of Pinkie, where a large number of friars were slain in the flight, the English as Protestants specially singling them out.

shall never be judged worthy of your wages agane !' But exhortationis war then unprofitable ; for aftir that Bell¹ had brokin his neck, thare was no conforte to his confused army." ²

The incidents just related indicate where the country was going. The Regent had still one point to gain before she could show her real mind, and she still pursued her policy of playing off the two religious parties against each other. But as the Protestants grew in strength they became dissatisfied with their equivocal position. As the death of Mill proved, the old heresy laws could still be put in force against them. If brought to trial for religion, the conditions of the examination left no door open for the accused. The time had now come when these things should be remedied, and they took the opportunity of the approaching meeting of Parliament to bring their grievances before the Government. It was from this Parliament that the Regent hoped to obtain the matrimonial crown for her son-in-law ; but, as we know, there was a strong body of opinion against any further concession to France. Châtelherault and Archbishop Hamilton could not approve a step which would go far to cut off their house from the succession. From motives of patriotism, also, many Scotsmen looked with disfavour on a Government carried on in the interests of a foreign power. The Regent could not count on the undivided support of the clergy, since a certain section of them were displeased at her compromises with heresy, and others were under the influence of the Primate. The Protestants she could retain only as long as she held out the hope of a change in religion which in reality no

¹ Baal.

² *Works*, i. 259-261.

circumstances would ever constrain her to grant. It was at this moment, therefore, when it was so important for the Regent to conciliate all parties, that the Protestants prepared a statement of their grievances. This statement was in the form of a letter, which they meant to be laid before the Estates; but from policy or courtesy it was first placed in the hands of the Regent. She received it with her usual urbanity; but when pressed to bring it before Parliament she gave the only reply which her position permitted. "When we requyred secreatlie of hir Grace," writes Knox, "that our Petitionis should be proponed to the hole Assemblie, sche ansured, 'That sche thought nott that expedient; for then wold the hole Ecclesiasticall Estate be contrarie to hir proceadingis, which at that tyme was great;' for the Matrimoniall Croune was asked, and in that Parliament granted. 'Bot,' said sche, 'how sone ordour can be tacken with these thingis, which now may be hyndered by the Kirk men, ye shall know my goode mynd; and, in the meantyme, whatsoevir I may grant unto yow, shall glaidlie be granted.'" ¹

As the Regent made no sign of laying their petition before the Estates, the Lords of the Congregation drew up another document, which they presented in their own person. In this "Protestation" they claimed absolute freedom of worship. "We protest," they say in their first demand, "that seing we can not obtene ane just Reformatioun according to Goddis worde that it be lauchfull to us to use oure selfis in materis of religioun and conscience, as

¹ *Works*, i. p. 312. These words express so exactly what we should expect the Regent to have said in the circumstances that we can have no hesitation in accepting them as a trustworthy report.

we must ansuer unto God, unto suche tyme as our adversaries be able to prove thame selfis the trew ministeris of Christes Church, and to purge thame selfis of suche crymes as we have already layed to thare charge, offering our selfis to prove the same whensoever the Sacrat¹ Authoritie please to geve us Audience." But in view of events in the immediate future the most significant paragraph in their protest is certainly the following: "We, thirdly, protest that yf any tumult or uproare shall aryise amonges the membres of this realme for the diversitie of religioun, and yf it shall chance that abuses be violentlie reformed, that the cryme thair of be not impute to us, who most humlie do now seak all thinges to be reformed by ane ordour: Bot rather whatsoever inconvenient shall happin to follow for lack of order tacken, that may be imputed to those that do refuse the same."² Words could not indicate more plainly the general conviction that a struggle was at hand which could be closed only with the triumph of one of the two parties which now divided the country.

Thus far we have been mainly concerned with the political and religious discontent in the country. But, as in every great revolution, there were social and economical causes that went with other forces to supply the momentum needed to wrench the nation from its ancient moorings. On the 1st of January 1559 there was found stuck on the gates of all the religious establishments in Scotland a placard, which may be fairly regarded as the most remarkable document produced by the Scottish Reformation. However and

¹ Knox always uses this word in the sense of "constituted."

² *Works*, i. 313, 314.

by whomsoever this manifesto was concocted, in its sensational tone, its defiance of existing authority, it breathes the very spirit of revolution. That it expressed a deep and widespread feeling among the people the events of the next few months were signally to prove. As we read this "Beggar's Summonds," as it was called, we understand how, when the hour struck, the masses rushed to the spoils of cathedrals and churches, and showed such scant respect to the officials of the old religion. The "Summonds," dated "from all cities, towns, and villages of Scotland," begins as follows:—"The blind, crooked, lame, wedowes, orphans, and all other poore visited by the hand of God or may not worke, to the flockes of all friers within this realme, we wish restitution of wrongs past, and reformation in times comming, for salutation." The manifesto closed with a threat, the near fulfilment of which it needed no prophet to predict. "Wherefore, seing our number is so great, so indigent, and so heavilie oppressed by youre false means that none taketh care of our miserie, and that it is better to provide for these our impotent members which God hath given us, to oppone to you in plaine controversie than to see you hereafter, as yee have done before, steale from us our loodging, and our selves in the mean time to perishe, and dee for want of the same; we have thought good, therefore, ere we enter in conflict with you to warne you in the name of the great God by this publick writting affixed on your gates where yee now dwell that yee remove furth of our said hospitalls, betwixt this and the feast of Witsonday nixt, so that we the onlie lawfull proprietors thereof may enter therto, and afterward injoy the commoditeis of the Church which yee have

heretofore wrongfullie holdin from us : certifeing you if yee faile, we will at the said terme, in whole number and with the helpe of God and assistance of his sancts on earth, of whose readie support we doubt not, enter and take possession of our said patromonie, and eject you utterlie furth of the same. Let him, therefore, that before hath stollin, steale no more ; but rather lett him worke with his hands, that he may be helpfull to the poore.”¹

From this point forward, politics, religion, and social discontent are so inextricably blended that they cannot be disentangled in the swift current of affairs that ended in the revolution of 1560. The relations of Scotland and France, however, still remained the most important question in the situation. With the death of Mary Tudor a new object came before the ambition of the Guises and the French king. In the eyes of Roman Christendom Elizabeth was the illegitimate daughter of Ann Boleyn, and a heretic to boot. To all good Catholics her cousin Mary Stewart must seem the true heir to the crown of England. It was known, moreover, that two-thirds of the English people still adhered to the ancient faith.² From the death of Mary, therefore, it became the object of Henry II. and the Guises to win England in the name of the young Queen of Scots. At an early date they showed their intentions by quartering the arms of England with those of Scotland and France. But there were difficulties in the way of these pretensions which grew more formidable every day. Philip of Spain could not be expected to work cordially with a heretical sovereign like Elizabeth ; but on the other

¹ Calderwood, i. 423, 424 ; Knox, *Works*, i. 320.

² Froude, vi. 114 *note* ; *ibid.* p. 180.

hand it could not be his interest to see France mistress of the British Islands. In all his schemes to obtain possession of England the French king would have to count on Philip as a more or less active adversary, who would not let his distaste for heresy stand too much in the way of his personal interests.

But if France was to win England, it could be done only through a skilful use of Scotland, and Scotland at this moment was not in a mood to be complaisant to France. The matrimonial crown had been granted; but the country had lost its ancient predilection for France, and certain of the leading nobility were in active opposition to its interests. The Duke of Châtelherault, who never lost sight of the claims of his family, was already in communication with England, and making conditions which should turn to his profit.¹ The Duke had always been regarded with suspicion in France, but the growing disaffection in Scotland made him a person of greater consequence than he had been since he was thrust from the Regency by Mary of Lorraine. The Duke was not himself the man to head a revolution; but, as events proved, his name and family influence could be turned to good use by those of greater energy than himself. In the spread of Protestantism, also, there was another difficulty in the way of using her against England. The Regent had been baffled at Maxwell-leuch in her efforts to force on an invasion of England. At that time the objections of the Scottish lords to invade England had been solely on the ground of its bad policy. Now that England was under a Protestant government, however, patriotism and religion

¹ Letter of Sir Henry Percy concerning affairs in Scotland, 22nd January 1558-59, given in Keith, i. 364.

alike dissuaded the Lords of the Congregation from doing the bidding of France.

But if Henry II. and the Guises were to attain their end, Scotland must be bent to their purpose. All that could be gained by diplomacy was accomplished when the Scottish Estates agreed to send the crown to the Dauphin. Till that object had been attained, the Regent's policy of compromise was the only course open to her. The time had now come when another line of conduct had to be followed. As things went, the various interests combined against France were so rapidly gathering strength that before long they would become the dominant power in the country. With the year 1559 the Regent entered on a new policy, which was perhaps the only course she could have followed in view of the ends she had before her. On the question of religion she now for the first time began to take firm ground. The Protestants were given to understand that the time for concession was past, and that thenceforward they must be content with such liberty as she might be pleased to allow them. Her new attitude towards the Protestant party was, in truth, part of a general policy towards heresy adopted by Henry II. and the Guises.¹ By a general crusade against heresy, the conquest of England might wear the look of a holy war in the highest interests of Christendom. At the same moment, therefore, operations were begun by the

¹ "I am credibly enformed that the French king, after the perfection of the ceremonies toching his daughter and King Philip, and his suster to the Duke of Savoy, myndeth himself to make a journey to the countreys of Poictou, Gascoigne, Guyon, and other places for the repression of religion; and to use the extremest persecution he may against the protestants in his country, and the like in Scotlande." Throgmorton to Cecil, 24th May 1559.—Forbes, *State Papers*, i. 101.

most Christian king against heretics in his own dominions and in Scotland.

It would appear that Mary of Lorraine took her measures with her usual prudence. At her instance,¹ a Provincial Council of the Clergy was summoned, which met in Edinburgh on the 1st of March, and remained in session till the 10th of April. The origin and proceedings of this Council, as registered in its own records, justify to the full the protests that had been lately raised against the state of the Church. That the Council met at all was mainly due to the action of certain nobles and barons well disposed to the old religion, but who saw that their religion was doomed if the ecclesiastical body did not speedily mend its ways.² Taking the matter into their own hands, these laymen presented to the Regent a series of articles in which they stated what they considered reforms necessary to be taken up by the Church. Previous Acts of Parliament and Provincial Councils, they said, had come to nothing, "bot rathare the Said Estate is deteriorate, nor emends be ony sic persuasion as hes bene hidertills usit."³ They then enumerate the various abuses which they wished to see set right. The lives of the clergy would have to be reformed, and the offices of the Church more faithfully and intelligently discharged. The harsh exactions, which alienated the allegiance of the people—the corpse present, the cow, the upmost cloth, the Easter offerings—would have to cease in the interest of the clergy themselves. The protracted processes in the Consistorial Courts, and the frequent appeals to the Court of Rome, that exhausted both the patience and the means of those subjected to them, were also

¹ Robertson, *Stat. Eccles. Scotie*. ii. 142. ² *Ibid.* p. 146. ³ *Ibid.*

matters of general complaint which called for drastic amendment.¹ As the articles touched no essential doctrine of the Church, the Regent could have no reasons for refusing to submit them to the spiritual authorities. Moreover, if necessary reforms were effectively carried out in the old faith, her hands would be strengthened in repressing the new.

The Council met, and as on previous occasions passed many excellent measures for setting the Church in order. From the character of many of these measures it is clear that in spite of previous legislation the Church was as greatly in need of purification as ever. The ignorance and immorality of the clergy, the scandalous allocation of benefices, the general neglect of preaching—these are the matters against which the new canons were as heretofore directed.² But these praiseworthy efforts at reform gave as little satisfaction within as without the Church. By the stringency of the new rules many of the clergy were driven to take sides with the enemy, while others gave themselves up to greater licence of life than ever.³ To the Protestants, so long as the mass and the Pope remained part of religion, other reforms were mere trifling, which could only incite them to more strenuous efforts against a hopeless institution.⁴ Thus ineffectual were the endeavours of the last Provincial Council of the Catholic Church in Scotland to stay the flood about to break upon her. In herself she had not the spiritual energy to resist the disintegrating forces around her, while the new faith grew every

¹ Robertson, *Statuta*, ii. 148, 149.

² *Ibid.* p. 153 *et seq.*

³ Leslie, p. 271. In Leslie's original history in Scots only the first class are specified. The second make their appearance in his Latin version, *De Gestis. Scot.* pp. 536 *et seq.* (edit. 1675).

⁴ For Knox's opinions of these reforms see *Works*, i. 291.

day, and drew to itself all the elements of a vigorous national life.

In these measures for reform, however, the Council had gone as far as fidelity to Rome would permit. Farther the Regent herself would not have wished them to go, both as a sound Catholic and as a Guise. The limits of reform defined, she now began to act against the Congregation with the decision that was natural to her. Immediately before Easter an order was issued for the observance of that festival after the Roman manner, and the preaching of unauthorised persons was forbidden more strictly than ever.¹ The preachers paid no heed to these edicts, and were summoned straightway to give an account of their doings. The Congregation, dismayed at the threatening attitude of the Regent, sought to deprecate her hostility. Two of their number, the Earl of Glencairn and Sir Hew Campbell, Sheriff of Ayr, were chosen to put their case before her with the view of obtaining the reprieve of their preachers. The manner in which they were received showed the change that had taken place in the Regent's mind. Formerly she had put off the demands of the Protestants with an urbane air of regret that she was as yet unable to comply with them. Now when similar demands were made of her, she haughtily replied in words that were never forgotten by those to whom they were reported: "In despite

¹ As has been said, the Council met on the 1st of March, and Easter of 1559 fell on the 29th of March. It is difficult to fix the precise moment when Mary of Lorraine initiated her new policy towards the Protestants. Principal Robertson, following Sir James Melville as he too often does, dates it from the mission of Béthencourt. But Béthencourt was not in Scotland before June (Forbes, i. 141), and long previous to that date she had taken her stand against the Congregation. In all probability her change of tactics dates from the death of Mary Tudor and the granting of the Scottish crown to the Dauphin.

of yow and of your ministeris boith, thei shalbe banisshed owt of Scotland, albeit thei preached also trewlie as evir did Sanct Paule.”¹ When the two deputies reminded her of her previous promises, she still more unadvisedly replied that “it became not subjectis to burden thare Princess with promisses, farther then it pleaseth thame to keape the same.”² But it was not the character of Mary of Lorraine to let passion play havoc with policy, and in spite of these petulant outbursts she was persuaded for the time to stay proceedings against the preachers.³

It was clear, however, that in these changed relations of the two parties a rupture could not be long delayed. In all the strongholds of the new opinions—Perth, Dundee, and Montrose—the Regent was openly defied in her attempts to bring the preachers within reach of the law. When Lord Ruthven, the Provost of Perth, was ordered to put down heresy in that town, he gave her for answer, that he was master of the bodies of the citizens but not of their souls. The

¹ *Works*, i. 316.

² The only thing that should surprise us in this exclamation is that so discreet a ruler as Mary of Lorraine should have so far forgot herself as to let it escape her in public. There was not a prince then reigning in Europe who would not have endorsed the sentiment in private. This was perfectly understood by their subjects. In a subsequent address of the Congregation to Mary of Lorraine occurs the following sentence: “We ar not ignorant that princeis think it guid policy to betray thair subjectis be breking of promiseis, be thay never so solemtlie maid” (Knox, *Works*, i. 430). The bad faith of Mary of Lorraine was remembered at a critical moment by her grandson James VI. Referring to the Church policy urged on him by Laud, James writes: “But I durst not play fast-and-loose with my word. He [Laud] knows not the stomach of that people [the Scots]; but I ken the story of my grandmother, the queen-regent, that after she was inveigled to break her promise made to some mutineers at a Perth meeting, she never saw good day, but from thence, being much beloved before, was despised by her people.”—Hill Burton, *Hist. of Scotland*, vi. 339 (1870).

³ Knox, *Works*, i. 316.

Provost of Dundee, called on to produce the preacher Paul Methven, gave him a secret hint to seek safety elsewhere. At length the Regent took the decisive step, which, in truth, she was bound to take if she was to be mistress of her subjects with authority to work out her ends. The summons against the preachers, which had been stayed at the request of the Congregation, was now issued, and they were ordered to appear at Stirling on the 10th of May.¹ As on previous occasions, the gentlemen who supported the new opinions resolved to stand by the persons who had risked their lives for other men's salvation. From Angus and the Mearns a numerous body of them, all "without armour," proceeded to Perth to wait the issue of events. In another contingent that came from Dundee was John Knox, who on the 2nd of May had finally returned to his native country.²

From the account that has just been given of the progress of events in Scotland, it is clear that had Knox never left Geneva the revolution with which his name will be for ever associated must inevitably have come. The Catholic Church had lost hold of the mind and heart of the country, and it had now become identified with a foreign power, which had made itself odious to the bulk of the people. The policy of Mary of Lorraine now stood fully disclosed as having no other end than the subjection of Scotland to France.³

¹ Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, i. 406.

² Knox, *Works*, i. 318.

³ In the manifesto addressed to the princes of Christendom in defence of their revolt against Mary of Lorraine, the Protestant Lords rest their case solely on the grounds of patriotism. As things had gone since the treaty of Haddington in 1548, they pleaded that the end must inevitably be the ruin of Scotland as an independent nation. The salvation of their country, therefore, demanded that French influence should be checked by force, since no other means was available. See the whole manifesto as given in Teulet, i. 414 *et seq.*

The people were thoroughly roused by the insolence and rapacity of the foreign soldiery, and the Scottish nobles and barons were touched to the quick by the advancement of Frenchmen to the highest offices in the kingdom. In 1542, after the death of James V., the Catholic clergy had the heart of the country with them against England and heresy : in the growth of opinion the Protestants had become the national party, and England the one hope against a foreign tyranny.

CHAPTER IV

LETTERS OF KNOX TO SCOTLAND

1556-1559

DURING his last three years abroad Knox addressed a series of letters to Scotland which have their own place in the history of the Scottish Reformation. From the vivacity of their style it would be easy to exaggerate the importance of these letters, yet as they passed from one circle to another in different parts of the country, and were eagerly looked for and read,¹ we may infer that they must have done something to strengthen the faith and quicken the action of the Protestant communities. In these writings of Knox, moreover, are announced in the most unmistakable fashion those principles in politics and religion which he was soon to have an opportunity of lending his hand to put in practice. Alike in their bearing on Knox and the revolution in which he was straightway to take part, these letters deserve more than a mere passing reference.

It was during his stay at Dieppe on his interrupted journey to Scotland that three of these letters were written. One of them—that addressed to the Protestant Lords on the 27th of October 1557—has already been noticed as having borne fruit, according to its

¹ *Works*, iv. 275.

writer, in the first "band" of the Reformed religion. The second, dated the 1st of December, and addressed "to his Brethren in Scotland," gives us a strange glimpse into the new religious society which had broken with the National Church. As in the case of the religious communities founded by the Apostles, it would appear that from its birth strife and division and evil manners sapped its life. Some had brought discredit on the truth by denying what they had lately professed; others who wished to be thought believers shamed their profession by the open vice of their lives. Two evils had come of this state of things. The Papists could point the finger and say that the lives of its professors were the best comment on the new gospel. What was still worse, by this unfaithfulness to the truth sectaries had arisen who taught doctrines blasphemous against God and fatal to the salvation of man.¹ It is interesting to note how Knox meets the criticism of the Papists and the schismatical tendencies of the sectaries.

"Former," he says, "thay do judge and pronounce of the doctrine and religioun by the lives of the professoris. Secundlie, thay requyre a greater puritie and justice (denying any trew Kirk to be whair vyces ar knowin) than ever was found in ony congregatioun since the begyning. Of whilk two errouris must neidis follow most horribill absurditeis."² Paganism and Mohammedanism, he proceeds to argue, produced men of exemplary lives; but does this prove that either of these religions came from God? The conclusion is "that the lyfe and conversatioun of man is na assurit note, sign, or token of Chrystis visibill Kirk."³ But in this case it might be objected that

¹ *Works*, iv. 262 *et seq.*

² *Ibid.* p. 263.

³ *Ibid.* p. 267.

there was no reason for leaving the Church of Rome. This might be regarded as a homethrust, since Knox was never weary of denouncing the idle and vicious lives of the clergy. But his answer is ready. "Just caus," he says, "have we and all men to flie frome the sinagoge of Sathan, not onlie becaus of the wickitnes of the lyves of suche as thairin be assembled, but cheiflie becaus that our soverane captane Chryst Jesus is thairin blasphemit, his sacramentis and halie ordinances being altogither pollutit and prophanit be the vane inventionis of man."¹ In making correct opinion and not a good life the test of the true religion Knox showed himself a consistent Calvinist theologian, and, which is the same thing, a perfectly consistent logician. Nevertheless, in this apparent antithesis of life and doctrine lay one of the great snares of the Calvinistic creed. If Calvinism has fired men with a zeal and devotion not surpassed by any form of Christian belief, it has in marked degree lent itself to that Pharisaic hypocrisy which has in every age been the attendant shadow of sincere religion.

In Scotland, as in other countries, as we learn from this letter of Knox, anabaptism had reared its ominous head. That it should appear wherever there was schism from Rome was indeed inevitable. In substituting the authority of the Bible for the authority of the Church the Reformers had appealed to the individual conscience, with the necessary result that in excitable minds religion became an orgy of the spirit incompatible with a stable society. Of the various forms of Protestantism, however, the system of Calvin was best fitted to repress the vagaries of fanaticism. In its definite creed and its stringent discipline it pos-

¹ *Works*, iv. 267.

sessed a force against which mere religious impressionism could not long make head. We have seen how Calvin dealt with anabaptism when it sought to establish itself in Geneva. In Scotland the national type of character and intellect was sufficient guarantee that anabaptism could never be a real source of disquiet. The counsels that Knox now gave for checking its growth seem to have been so effective, that in all the eventful history of Scottish religion nothing resembling anabaptism ever again exercised the mind of the country. "Suffer na man," was his advice, "without tryell and examinatioun to tak upon him the office of a preacher, nether to travell amangest the simpill scheip of Chryst Jesus, assembling thame in privie conventionis; for yf everie man sall entir at his awn appetit in the wynyaird of the Lord, without just tryell of his lyfe, conversatioun, doctrine, and conditioun, as sum, mair to serve thair awn bellies then the Lord Jesus, will offir thair labouris, sa na doubt sall Sathan haif his other suppostis,¹ by whome he purposeth to distroy the verie plantatioun of oure heavenlie Father."²

While still at Dieppe, Knox wrote one more letter "to the Lords and others professing the truth in Scotland." Of all the letters he addressed to Scotland at this time it is the least remarkable;³ yet it contains one passage so pertinent to the course of events in Scotland that it deserves to be given in full. At the time it was written, Knox had apparently not ceased to hope that by moderate counsels and by the consent of the constituted authority a reformation in religion might be accomplished without the necessity of civil disturbance. "But now na farder," this passage runs,

¹ Followers, servants.

² *Works*, i. 271, 272.

³ Calderwood (i. 323) describes it as "a prolix letter to the lords."

“to trubill yow at this present, I will onlie advertise yow of sic brut as I heir in thir partis uncertanlie noysit; whilk is this, that contradictioun and rebellioun is maid to the Autoritie be sum in that realme. In whilk poynt my conscience will not suffer me to keip back fra yow my consall, yea, my judgement and commandement, whilk I communicat with yow in Godis feir, and by the assurance of his trewth; whilk is, that none of yow that seik to promote the glorie of Chryst do suddanlie disobey or displeas the establissit Autoritie in thingis lawfull; nether yit that ye assist or fortifie suche as for thair awn particular cause and worldlie promotioun would trubill the same. But in the bowellis of Chryst Jesus I exhort yow, that with all simplicitie and lawfull obedience, joynit with boldnes in God, and with open confessioun of your faith, ye seik the favours of the Autoritie that by it (yf possibile be) the cause in whilk ye labour may be promotit, or at the leist not persecuted; whilk thing, eftir all humill requeist yf ye cannot atteane, then with oppin and solempn protestatioun of your obedience to be gevin to the Autoritie in all thingis not planelie repugnyng to God, ye lawfullie may attempt the extreamitie, whilk is to provyd whidder the Autoritie will consent or no that Chrystis Evangell may be trewlie preachit, and his halie sacramentis rychtly ministerit unto yow and to your brethren, the subjectis of that Realme. And, farther, ye lawfullie may, yea, and thairto is bound to defend your Brethrene from persecution and tyranny, be it aganis princes or empriouris, to the uttermost of your power, provyding always, as I haif said, that nether yourself deny lawfull obedience, nether yit that ye assist nor promot thois that seik autoritie and pre-

eminence of warldlie glorie, yea, of the oppressioun and destruction of utheris.”¹

In the next performance of Knox, in which he addresses himself to affairs in Scotland, we have him in a very different mood. This is his “Letter to the Queen-Regent with Additions” which has already been noticed. By the date it was written (1558) it is evident that he had given up hope of an adequate reformation of religion through Mary of Lorraine. As was the case with all the religious leaders² of the sixteenth century, his views as to the relations of Church and State were curiously determined by the immediate circumstances in which he saw his party placed. In the letter that has just been quoted we have seen him lay down doctrines on the allegiance of subjects which for men of his way of thinking were comparatively moderate. This is how he now settles what Montaigne calls “that solemn question” as to whether subjects are justified in defying their princes for the sake of religion. “Experience hath taught us what surmises and blasphemies the adversaries of Christ Jesus of his eternall veritie do invent and devise against such as beginne to detecte their impietie. They are accused to be authors of sedition, raisers of

¹ *Works*, iv. 284, 285.

² Montaigne has some interesting remarks on this subject in his *Apologie de Raimond Sebond*, *Essais*, liv. ii. chap. xii. Living through the religious wars, he had seen curious changes of front on the part of both Catholics and Huguenots. In the following sentence he refers to the fact that at the time he wrote it the Catholics of the League were promulgating the very doctrine for which they had formerly denounced the Huguenots. “Cette proposition si solenne : S’il est permis au subject de se rebeller et armer contre son prince pour la deffense de la religion : souviene vous en quelles bouches, cette annee passee, l’affirmative d’icelle estoit l’arc boutant d’un party ; la negative, de quel aultre c’estoit l’arc boutant : et oyez a present de quel quartier vient la voix et instruction de l’une et de l’autre ; et si les armes bruyent moins pour cette cause que pour celle là.”

tumultes, violatours of common orders, etc. I answer with the Prophet Isaie, 'That all is not reputed before God sedition and conjuration which the foolish multitude so estemeth,' nether yet is everie tumult and breach of publike order contrarie to Goddes commandement. For Christ Jesus himselfe, comming to ryve the spoile from the strong armed, who before did keep his house in quietnes, is not comen to send peace but a sworde, and to make a man disassent from his fathers. His Prophets before him and Apostles after him feared not to break publike orders established against God, and in so doing to move as it were the one-half of the peoples, nations, and cities against the other. And yet I trust that none except the hiered servant of Satan will accuse Christ of sedition nor his Apostles of the troubling of Common welthes."¹

But in view of the prospects of religious reform in Scotland, Knox had another equally delicate question to face. If both the prince and the clergy were averse to reform, what was the duty of the nobility and people? In his "Appellation to the Nobles and Estates of Scotland," published the same year as his letter to the Regent, he lays before the Scottish nobles the course which as Christian magistrates they were bound to pursue. When we remember the subsequent history of Presbyterianism in Scotland, we find all the caprice of circumstance in the maxims now so confidently laid down by Knox. Could "Erastianism" be approved in more set terms than in the following passage, which is yet only one among many in the same remarkable letter?

"I am not ignorant that Satan of old tyme, for

¹ *Works*, iv. 441, 442.

mentainance of his darkness, hath obtained of the blynd world two chefe points. Former, he hath persuaded to Princes, Rulers, and Magistrates, that the feeding of Christe's flock appertaineth nothing to theyre charge, but that it is rejected upon the Byshoppes and estate ecclesiasticall: and, second-arelie, that the reformation of religion, be it never so corrupt, and the punishement of such as be sworne souldiers in theyre kingdome, are exempted from all civile power, and are reserved to themselves and to theyre own cognition. But that no offender can justly be exempted from punyhsement, and that the ordering and reformation of religion with the instruction of subjects, doth especially appertaine to the Civile Magistrate, shall Goddes perfect ordonaunce, his plaine Worde, and the facts and examples of those that of God are highly praised, most evidently declare.

“When God did establish his Law, statutes, and ceremonies in the middest of Israel, he did not exempt the matters of religion from the power of Moses; but as he gave hym charge over the civile politie, so he put in his mouth and in his hand: that is, he fyrst revealed to hym, and thereafter commaunded to put in practise whatsoever was to be taught or done in matters of religion. Nothing did God reveale particularly to Aaron, but altogither was he commaunded to depend from the mouth of Moses: yea, nothing was he permitted to do to hymself or to his children either, in his or theyr inauguration and sanctification to the preesthode, but all was committed to the care of Moses, and therefore were these words so frequently repeted to Moses: ‘Thou shalt separate Aaron and his sonnes from the middest of the preest-

hode; thou shalt make unto them garments, thou shalt annoynte them, thou shalt wash them, thou shalt fill theyr handes with the sacrifice.' ”¹

In the gyration of events this same question of the relation of the Church and the Civil Magistrate came before Knox's famous successor, Andrew Melville. In Melville's day, however, new conditions had arisen, and he had to face other dangers than those in front of Knox. By the sheer stress of circumstance, therefore, he was driven to the very opposite pole from the position of his great predecessor.

Having told the Scottish nobility that it was their plain duty to bridle unchristian princes and to reform an idolatrous Church, he next addressed “his beloved brethren the Communalitie of Scotland.” The “Communalitie” whom Knox addressed were mainly those small circles of Protestants to be found in certain of the most thriving towns in the country. From the indications we possess regarding them we seem justified in inferring that the members of these communities chiefly belonged to the intelligent middle class, to which, as in other countries, the Reformation was mainly due. The very fact that such a letter could be written is proof that a new era in the national life was begun. The Commons of Scotland are addressed as intelligent citizens with a right to make their influence felt in the government of the country, and to call their princes to account when they placed their will above the interests of the people. It was one of the large results of the religious revolution in Scotland that the middle class gradually assumed an importance which, as the case of France and Spain

¹ *Works*, iv. 485, 486.

eventually proved, it could never have attained had the old religion remained untouched. Twelve years after the revolution had been completed, Killigrew, the English resident in Scotland, could write the following sentence to Burleigh; "Methinks I see the noblemen's great credit decay in this country; and the barons, burrows, and such-like take more upon them."¹

Knox's counsels to the people are to the same purport as those he had addressed to the nobles. If idolatry were allowed to reign in the land, they must share the responsibility with those in authority over them. "And further," he says in one passage, "I desire that ye, concurring with your Nobilitie, would compell your Byshoppes and Clergie to cease their tyrannie; and also that for the better assurance and instruction of your conscience, ye would compell your said Bishoppes and fals teachers to answer by the Scriptures of God to such objections and crimes as shalbe laid against their vaine religion, fals doctrine, wicked life, and sclanderous conversation."² They had one weapon which they might wield with deadly effect to bring false teachers to a correct view of the situation. "Ye may, moreover," he tells them, "withholde the frutes and proffets which your fals Byshoppes and Clergie most injustlie receyve of you, unto such tyme as they be compelled faithfully to do theyr charge and dueties, which is to preach unto you Christ Jesus truely, ryghtly to minister his Sacramentes according to his own institution, and so to watche for the salvation of your soules, as is commaunded by Christ Jesus hymselfe, and by his apostles Paul and Peter."³

¹ *State Papers* (Domestic), 11th November 1572.

² *Works*, iv. 524.

³ *Ibid.* v. 534.

Thus had Knox in turn addressed the prince, nobility, and commons of Scotland. The principles he had laid down in these various addresses were to be carried out to the letter in the series of events about to be described. In their degree these writings doubtless contributed to this result; but at the most they were but a small contributory stream to the great current of events which swept the country from its ancient foundations. It was by his living voice and presence that Knox was to play that part in this crisis of his country's destinies which has given him his place as the most strenuous figure in the national history.

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